

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

BLACK REBELLION IN SOUTH AFRICA

—PAGES 4,5



Black students demonstrate against apartheid language policies in Soweto township near Johannesburg June 16. Police gunned down nearly 150 Blacks during week of protests.

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hit U.S. support
to apartheid regime**

**• White minority
gov't launches
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MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
**international
socialist
review**
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JULY 4 PROTEST: Organizers of the July 4 "Bicentennial Without Colonies" rally have announced final plans for the demonstration in Philadelphia. The march will assemble at 11:30 a.m. at Diamond Avenue between Tenth and Eleventh streets. A permit has been secured for the march and 2:00 p.m. rally at Fairmont Park, located at Thirty-third Street and Oxford Avenue.

Among the speakers at the three-hour rally will be Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Clyde Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Elaine Brown, Black Panther party; Karen DeCrow, National Organization for Women; Juan Mari Brás, Puerto Rican Socialist party; and Ed Sadlowski, United Steelworkers of America.

Local, state, and federal government agencies have tried to create the impression that the march will be violent. Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo had asked that federal troops be sent in, but this request was turned down June 21. Now the city says it may ask that the national guard be on hand.

Despite the campaign to intimidate demonstrators, organizers have said that they expect a massive turnout for a peaceful, legal march.

PROTEST KILLING OF CHICANO: "Jail police criminals!" "Basta la sangre en la calle!" (Enough blood in the streets.) "Prosecute the murderer of Barlow!" These are some of the signs posted around the Chicano community in Oakland, California, in response to the murder of José Barlow Benavidez. An Oakland police officer, Michael Cogley, shot the twenty-seven-year-old Chicano on June 11.

Police claim it was an accident—Benavidez "backed into" the cop's shotgun. But witnesses state that Cogley shot Benavidez while the victim was in a search position with both hands on top of his car and legs spread-eagle.

On June 16, a Coalition Against Police Crimes was formed. It is calling for a grand jury investigation and the firing and prosecution of officer Cogley. Already 100 people have demonstrated at police headquarters. Now the coalition is calling for a rally in front of the Oakland City Hall on Tuesday, June 29, at 6:30 p.m. After the rally the demonstrators will attend the city council meeting to demand that it meet the coalition's demands.

Froben Lozada, Socialist Workers party candidate in the Ninth Congressional District, is urging wide support for the demonstration.

A MATTER OF SELF-DEFENSE: Milwaukee Blacks won a victory for their right to self-defense against racist assault on May 27. On that day Judge Carl Bjork dismissed charges of "creating a disturbance" against Michael Murphy, a member of the Socialist Workers party and long-time civil rights activist in the city.

On July 12, 1975, Murphy had been on his way to sell *Militants* on a street corner when a Nazi physically attacked him. In a show of "even-handed justice," Assistant City Attorney David Felger charged both men with "creating a disturbance." From the start the prosecution tried to portray the case as an altercation between two "extremists"—one a Nazi and the other a socialist.

The Nazi pleaded guilty and paid a fifty-dollar fine. But Murphy maintained his innocence and fought to show that he was being victimized for defending himself against an unprovoked assault from a racist thug.

CLOSE CALL: On June 22 New York Gov. Hugh Carey vetoed an anti-abortion bill just minutes before it would have become law. By a two-to-one margin, the Democratic-controlled state assembly had passed the bill, which would have required parental permission for abortions performed on women under eighteen. Carey delayed action, hoping that a U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of such laws would save him from taking a stand. In New York City last year, 7,090 women between fourteen and seventeen had legal abortions. Planned Parenthood, which performed nearly a third of these, estimates that half the young women would have been unwilling or unable to get consent from their parents during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy. Under the new law, thousands would have been forced into the hands of butcher abortionists.

SAVE PHILADELPHIA GENERAL HOSPITAL: The Committee to Save Philadelphia General Hospital is organizing a fight to stop the city's Democratic administration's plans to close the hospital in 1977. On May 22 the community and union group organized a march of 1,000.

The keynote speaker, William Lucy, international secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, said, "The plan is to do away with public health care and give it back to private institutions. We demand that quality medical care be available at public institutions at public expense."

A May 26 committee meeting voted to organize activities and involve more community and union groups in its work.

BLACK ASSEMBLY ANNOUNCES CANDIDATE: The National Black Assembly has announced that it is fielding Rev. Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick as its candidate for president of the United States.

Kirkpatrick, a native of Louisiana, was a leader of the Deacons for Defense, a Black Louisiana group that rose to prominence through its efforts to halt Ku Klux Klan attacks in the early 1960s.

The assembly is the organization that grew out of the Gary, Indiana, Black Political Convention in 1972.

The assembly hopes to obtain ballot status in New York, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Indiana, and the District of Columbia. Write-in campaigns will be mounted in parts of Ohio, Michigan, and Pennsylvania.

JAZZ PROF LOSES CHALLENGE: Black jazz professor Joe Brazil lost his challenge to the University of Washington Music Faculty and Administration in a superior court decision in Seattle June 1. Brazil had charged that the department was in violation of the Open Meetings Act of 1971 when it denied him tenure in a closed, unannounced meeting of the music faculty.

The university lawyers moved for a summary judgment, arguing that in this case the Open Meetings Act did not apply. The judge granted the motion and subsequently dismissed the case.

Widespread student and community support for Brazil included a march and rally of 500 in mid-April. At this time, Brazil is undecided as to any possible future court actions.

'COLD-BLOODED MURDER': "I witnessed a brutal murder, a cold-blooded murder," Rev. Allan Robinson told a June 11 community meeting in Houston. Robinson described how he and his wife saw two cops jump from their car and shoot a Black man who was walking on the side of the road the night of March 20. The victim was twenty-seven-year-old Milton Glover, a Vietnam veteran.

The Robinsons were never asked to tell their story to a grand jury, which accepted the cops' claim that they mistook the prayer book carried by Glover for a gun!

The sixty people at the community meeting voted to call for an independent commission of inquiry. Its purpose, stated Isaiah Lovings, president of the DeWalt NAACP, will be "to investigate, not only the Glover killing, but all reported instances of police brutality and harassment."

Another speaker at the meeting, Terry Payne, a Black high school leader of the Student Coalition Against Racism, said, "We're taught that the police are supposed to stop crimes. But to me, the police start crimes."

—Ginny Hildebrand



'Militant' labor reporter Andy Rose has just returned from ten-day fact-finding trip to Ontario and Québec, Canada.

Special Offer For New Readers

Working people in Canada and the United States face similar assaults on their standard of living. But labor's response has been different in Canada. The labor federation is discussing a one-day general strike, and working people have a labor party. Andy Rose continues a series on this labor upsurge in next week's *Militant*.

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La. officials continue harassment of Gary Tyler

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—Racist authorities will apparently stop at nothing in their cruel treatment of Gary Tyler and his family. Sentencing the innocent seventeen-year-old Black youth to die by electrocution was not enough punishment.

On June 2 authorities at the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola gave Tyler twenty days in isolation on the trumped-up charge of fashioning a spoon into a weapon. On June 3 Tyler was tear gassed in his isolation cell by prison guard Joseph Hooks. On June 15 Tyler was found guilty of "defiance" of a guard and given ten more days in the "hole."

The charge of defiance was cooked up because Tyler had tried to take a pencil into his cell so that he could write to his lawyer, Jack Peebles.

Prison regulations specify that isolation prisoners are allowed to write to their legal counsel. Tyler was denied this right. Prison guard Hooks ordered him to turn over a pencil. Because Tyler broke the pencil he was given the ten additional days at a hearing of which attorney Peebles was not informed.

Meanwhile, St. Charles Parish officials continue to victimize the Tyler family. Gary's eighteen-year-old brother Steven was grabbed out of a crowd and charged with "disturbing the peace" June 20. Judge Ruche Marino set bond at an astronomical \$2,700. One month earlier Marino set \$5,000 bond on a phony burglary charge against Terry Tyler, Gary's younger brother.

The same judge presided over Gary Tyler for murder last November and sentenced him to death.

In a *Militant* interview at the Tyler home in St. Rose, Gary's mother, Juanita Tyler, said, "They're trying to break me on this end and break Gary on that end. But they're just making fools out of themselves."

Courageously keeping up the fight to free her son, Juanita Tyler told the *Militant* a "gospel sing" will take place on the eve of Gary's birthday, July 9, at the Fifth Africa Baptist Church in St. Rose to raise funds for the defense.

On July 10 the Tyler defense committee is coordinating eighteenth-birthday celebrations for Gary in New Orleans and across the country.

Support is mounting for a southwide

demonstration to demand freedom for Gary Tyler July 24. The rally will be held at New Orleans's Duncan Plaza, site of the Louisiana Supreme Court, which will hear an appeal for a new trial this fall.

Walter Collins, defense committee coordinator, reports that car caravans from Boston, Birmingham, Atlanta, Houston, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and the Northwest will be converging on New Orleans for the July 24 action.

New Orleans teachers have thrown their endorsement to the campaign to free Gary Tyler by the recent passage of a resolution demanding that he be granted a new trial.

Social Services Union Local 535, the Los Angeles affiliate of the Service Employees International Union, on June 16 telegraphed Louisiana Gov. Edwin Edwards demanding that Tyler be set free.

How you can help

Things you can do to support Gary Tyler:

- 1) Sponsor a fund-raising activity or build a rally for Gary Tyler in your community or at your club, school, union, or other organization.
- 2) To obtain speakers you may contact Walter Collins, coordinator, Gary Tyler Defense Committee, 1610 Basin Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70112. Telephone: (504) 522-2244.
- 3) Contributions to the defense fund may be sent to Gary Tyler Fund, c/o Liberty Bank, 3939 Tulane

Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118.

4) Write to Gary Tyler: Gary Tyler, Death Row, C-127, Angola, Louisiana 70712.

5) Send letters of protest at this injustice to Edwin Edwards or Attorney General William Guste, State Capitol, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Copies should be sent to Walter Collins at the defense committee.

6) Get prominent sponsors of the defense in your city.

Kelley to FBI agents: Apology just for show

By May Cramer

Remember when Clarence Kelley apologized for the FBI's attacks on democratic rights? On May 8 Kelley caused a stir when he said the bureau was "truly sorry" for FBI illegal activities that had come to light—such as wiretaps, poison-pen letters, burglaries, and hate mail. It seemed so out of character for this hard-as-nails super-sleuth to admit doing wrong.

Now a letter from Kelley has turned up that explains the apology was just for show.

FBI agents around the country were outraged by Kelley's admission that the bureau had done wrong. Ralph Jones, head of the Society of Former Special Agents, wrote Kelley protesting this apology.

On May 13 the FBI director sent back a reassuring reply. Jones was so pleased with Kelley's answer he sent

copies to the several thousand retired agents of his organization. One of those copies came into the hands of the *New York Times*, which published the text of the letter.

The apology, Kelley explained, was just meant to calm down public opinion. Otherwise people might become even more critical and want to know even more about what the FBI had done.

"Lately the news accounts have been more frequent, more probative and most damaging to our position," Kelley explained to Jones in what he thought was a private letter. "Frankly, our credibility is, in my estimation, in jeopardy."

In May Congress was making noises about tightening controls on the FBI. Kelley thought it was a good time for the bureau to make some promises about self-reform. Kelley explained

that "apology" was a good tactic "because I believe this action might well prevent or at least somewhat retard" efforts to control the secret police agency.

The apology wasn't all that much. As Kelley pointed out to the retired agents, his confessions "were not specific nor directed at any individuals." Kelley had called the bureau's illegal operations "good-faith efforts." "I truly believe the mistakes to have been of the mind and not the heart," he had said.

The director concluded his letter to Jones with a "pledge to all the ex-agents to do my best to maintain the position of preeminence for the bureau."

Now that the real story behind the supposed apology has surfaced and more FBI secret files are coming out, the FBI's "position of preeminence" may take a few more blows.



KELLEY: 'News accounts have been damaging to our position.'

1,500 in N.Y. back Rosenberg case

By Claire Moriarty

NEW YORK—Ethel Rosenberg was thirty-seven years old and Julius Rosenberg was thirty-four when they were executed by the government in 1953. The Rosenbergs, with Morton Sobell, had been framed up, convicted of what the FBI still calls "the crime of the century": conspiracy to steal the secret of the atomic bomb and transmit it to the Soviet Union.

The Rosenbergs were the only Americans executed for espionage in U.S. peacetime history. Their trial spanned the Korean War and the McCarthy era. Their execution was a cornerstone of postwar reaction.

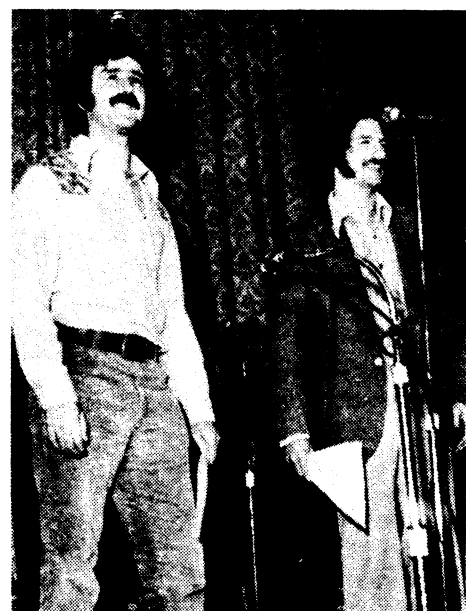
Hundreds of thousands around the world demonstrated to demand their release.

Today, twenty-three years later, the Rosenberg sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, have taken up their defense. They have begun a fight to obtain the government's files on their parents.

The group coordinating this effort, the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, held a rally at Carnegie Hall on June 15. Some 1,500 people jammed the aisles and vied with TV

camera crews for a good view of the stage.

Cora Weiss, a prominent anti-Vietnam War leader, spoke, ridiculing the government's cynicism.



Robert (left) and Michael Meeropol address Carnegie Hall rally.

"American people do not depend on foreign aid or instruction from abroad to understand injustice and repression at home," she said.

The FBI report on the Carnegie Hall meeting, she said, would reveal: "Carnegie Hall was filled to support the effort of the sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to open the files."

After eighteen years in prison Morton Sobell's shoulder-length hair is gray. But he shares the Meeropols' confidence.

"Two years ago," he said, "Big Black spoke here at Carnegie Hall. And today all but one of the Attica Brothers are free."

Helen Sobell, who spearheaded the decades-long work in defense of her husband and the Rosenbergs, spoke about today's political prisoners, including Gary Tyler and the Wilmington Ten (Rev. Ben Chavis and nine other civil rights activists framed up and jailed for their role in protesting racism in Wilmington, North Carolina).

The audience could unite, she said, despite divergent views and backgrounds, in defense of these prisoners.

"This is our strength. We must learn it, teach it, live it."

Martin Sostre, a former New York political prisoner, agreed. "I wouldn't be here tonight if many of you hadn't supported me and forced the government to release me."

Andrés Suárez brought greetings from the Puerto Rican Socialist party. Despite all our differences, he urged, "let us close ranks against a common enemy."

Other messages of solidarity were read from U.S. Representatives Robert Drinan (D-Mass.), Michael Harrington (D-Mass.), and Fred Richmond (D-N.Y.), and the Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

A cast of celebrities, including Tony Randall and John Randolph, presented a dramatic reading of excerpts from the Rosenbergs' trial and letters.

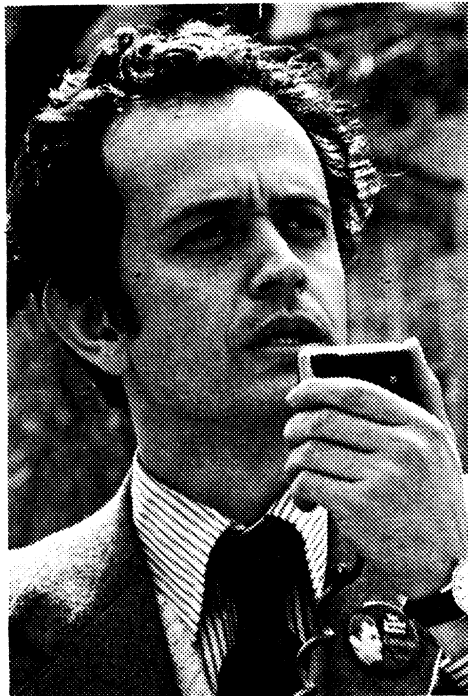
Their sons Michael, now thirty-three, and Robert, twenty-nine, addressed the audience. Robert ended the rally by declaring, "It is our job not only to clear our parents' name. It is our job to make sure it never happens again."

SWP candidates blast U.S. policy on S. Africa

LOS ANGELES—Campaigning in California this week, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo sharply condemned the Republican and Democratic parties for their inaction on the repression of Black rebels in South Africa.

"The Black youths that are being shot down in Soweto and other Johannesburg suburbs are the victims of a government that is supported, armed, and financed by the Republican and Democratic parties," Camejo said.

Camejo pointed out that despite the



PETER CAMEJO Militant/Jon Flanders

murders President Ford refused to call off the meeting in West Germany between U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger and South African Prime Minister John Vorster.

"Jimmy Carter has said not one word about South Africa," Camejo added.

The socialist candidate has appeared on California campuses, television, and on an hour-long Los Angeles radio broadcast, June 21.

"Carter's silence shows where this former Georgia governor really stands when it comes to repressing Blacks," Camejo said.

"There have been three days of killings," the socialist candidate pointed out. "Do you think it takes three days to say 'I oppose this?'"

Camejo explained that he doesn't rule out that Carter or Kissinger may yet come out with face-saving statements distancing themselves from the Vorster killings.

"But the reality is already clear. Not one single capitalist candidate opened their mouth while the rulers of South Africa actually drowned the rebels in blood.

"It is part and parcel of their attack on Blacks in this country. Ford, Reagan, and Carter oppose busing. They remain silent as KKKers and other riffraff beat up Black people in Boston.

"They want to turn back the gains that the Black struggle made in this country and they have no intentions whatsoever of breaking with the white supremacists of South Africa," Camejo said.

RICHMOND, Va.—Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid explained to college

students here June 19 the significance of the U.S. response to the South African events.

"Ever since the Angola defeat and his trip to Africa, Kissinger has been pretending that the United States now favors Black majority rule in southern Africa," Reid said. "The killings of the last three days show where Washington really stands.

"Kissinger still plans to meet with Vorster in West Germany. Washington hasn't lifted a finger to save the Black



WILLIE MAE REID Militant/Maceo Dixon

youths who are being murdered by Vorster's police."

Reid said that the United States had changed its official position on Ian Smith's white regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) only after the MPLA victory in Angola. "They apparently believed that Smith couldn't hold out.

"It's a totally different story with South Africa," she said.

"In that bastion of imperialist investment there are thousands of Black political prisoners, including many of the leaders of the Black movement. South Africa's armed forces are bolstered by the U.S. and NATO.

"They thought the white racists in Pretoria could hold out forever, and that's what the racist rulers of the United States want. The courageous rebellion of these tens of thousands of young Blacks in the past few days took them completely by surprise, I am sure," Reid said.

Reid particularly attacks the myth that Democrat Jimmy Carter is a "friend of the Blacks." "What is Carter saying about South Africa? My campaign staff contacted Carter's organization in New York. They said Carter had 'no statement to make.'"

Reid said that she plans to raise the issue of South Africa at the forthcoming national convention of the NAACP in Memphis next week. "Here in the United States the Democrats and Republicans have failed to deal with any of the pressing problems facing Blacks. This election campaign is a conspiracy of silence on the part of the capitalist candidates to pretend that we do not have problems.

"The NAACP can play a crucial role in helping to continue the Black struggle. We need to organize national actions in support of busing and in the struggle for equal rights.

"Blacks must also stand up and condemn the government in Washington for its support to South African apartheid."

Reid said that people are expressing interest in her campaign everywhere she speaks. Three people asked about joining the Socialist Workers party after the Richmond talk.

Why Kissinger backs Pretoria on apartheid

By Ernest Harsch

[The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.]

South Africa has been rocked by the most massive Black uprising in the country's history. In defiance of police bullets, clubs, and tear gas, tens of thousands of Black students and workers filled the streets of Soweto and other Black townships to express their hatred of the white minority regime's racist apartheid system.

The militancy displayed by the protesters reflects the determination of the African masses to free their continent of the last strongholds of white colonial rule. Together with the deepening ferment in Zimbabwe and Namibia, the Black upsurge in South Africa is an important sign of the rising national and class struggle throughout southern Africa.

The Vorster regime's response to the just demands of the Black population—the wanton murder of well over 100 persons—has revealed to the world even more sharply than before the utterly barbaric and retrograde nature of South Africa's apartheid system.

At the same time that Vorster's police were gunning down Black protesters, Secretary of State Kissinger declared that he would go ahead with his scheduled meeting with the hated racist.

Although confronted with deep unrest at home, Vorster also viewed the meeting as vital and refused to cancel or postpone it. Speaking at the airport in Johannesburg June 19 on his way to the talks, Vorster declared that the meeting with Kissinger was "a very

important one in which I hope to be able to put South Africa's case at the highest level."

Vorster added that the talks reflected Washington's recognition of the role the South African regime "plays and can play in southern Africa." The same point had already been made in Washington two weeks earlier. On June 4, a high State Department official said that the reason Kissinger wanted to meet Vorster was because



HENRY KISSINGER

Pretoria played an "essential" role in southern Africa.

For American imperialism, the white supremacist regime plays an "essential" role for a number of reasons. South Africa controls the vital sea route around the Cape of Good Hope, past which much of the world's trade is shipped. It has some of the largest naval bases bordering on the Indian Ocean. There are large deposits of diamonds, gold, and other valuable minerals.

About 360 American companies have nearly \$1.5 billion invested in South African mines and industries. Since the wages of Black workers in South Africa are kept at extremely low levels by the apartheid laws, the American investments yield profits at among the highest rates in the world.

To deflect criticisms of Washington's backing to Pretoria, Kissinger and other government officials have been forced to issue periodic denunciations of apartheid. But these denunciations are purely for show. Washington has no intention of seeing the apartheid system abolished.

Unlike other countries in Africa, where the imperialist powers were able to maintain their economic and political domination after shifting to indirect forms of rule, a neocolonial "solution" in South Africa would be virtually impossible. South African capitalism rests on the foundation of apartheid exploitation. The positions of the South African and Western imperialists are so closely intertwined in the country that the downfall of white political power would likely prove fatal to continued imperialist economic control.

The Black proletariat in South Africa—now numbering more than six million workers—is a powerful force that could lead the national liberation struggle toward the overthrow of capitalism along with the apartheid system.

The sudden and spontaneous uprising in the Black townships gave only a glimpse of the explosive social tensions that have been building up in the country for centuries. And it is just a prelude to the powerful struggles that are yet to be waged by South Africa's Black masses. Those future struggles will have a profound impact on the course of the African—and world—revolutions.

New Yorkers protest deaths



Militant/Lou Howort

More than 500 people demonstrated in New York June 19 to protest the Soweto massacre in South Africa. The protest was called by the Pan African Students Organization of the Americas (PASOA) following the news announcement of the brutal murders June 16. A PASOA news release denounced the Kissinger-Vorster talks, stating, 'Soweto is the beginning spark that will burn down the apartheid regime in a general conflagration. Soweto is the symbol of rejection of Afrikaaner Boer culture. It is the eloquent denunciation of a system that condemns 50 percent of African children to death before the age of five.'

The U.S. Role in Southern Africa

by Malik Miah

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Black uprisings shake South Africa; Pretoria launches bloody repression

By Tony Thomas
From Intercontinental Press

Starting on June 16, South Africa has been shaken by uprisings in the Black urban townships surrounding Johannesburg.

The racist apartheid regime met the uprisings with a massive, murderous show of force. The government stopped giving figures on casualties after it admitted that 100 had been killed and more than 1,000 injured. However, *New York Times* correspondent John F. Burns reported that eyewitness accounts of the South African crackdown placed the toll "substantially higher" than the official figures.

The protests started in Soweto (an acronym for the South Western Townships), a Black city of more than one million. Outside of the Bantustans (reservations for Blacks), all Blacks, with the exception of some domestic servants, must live in such Black townships, since they are prohibited from "white" cities like Johannesburg.

While South Africa's ruling racists claim Soweto and the other townships circling Johannesburg are showcases of how good things are for Black South Africans, even U.S. Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development H.R. Crawford called them "modified concentration camps."

Only a small percentage of the homes there have running water, fewer have electricity or bathrooms. Whole families are forced to live in unbearably crowded conditions. Thousands of workers live in barracks, since they are allowed to bring their families and lease homes only after many years of "reliable" service in South African industry.

The explosion of protest in Soweto was ignited by government attempts to impose the Afrikaans language in the schools. As Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, pointed out: "The language issue is merely the spark that lit the resentment that is building up among Black people. Every car that looked like a white man's car was burned. That was nothing to do with Afrikaans."

Peaceful march

The protests began on the morning of June 16 when more than 10,000 Black students and youth from Soweto demonstrated in support of a student strike in one school district protesting the language policy. The march converged on Phefeni junior high school, the center of the strike.

The march was peaceful. Banners were carried that read "Down With Afrikaans," "We Are Not Boers," and "Viva Azania [an African name for



South African protesters. Outrage spread from city to city in wake of news that cops had opened fire on Soweto student demonstration.

South Africa]. The marchers sang the Black anthem, "Nkosi Sikeleli Afrika" (God Bless Africa).

Nicholas Ashford in the June 17 London *Times* paraphrased a report by Sophie Tema, an eyewitness who is a writer for the *World* of Johannesburg, a Black-oriented newspaper:

She said a crowd of several thousand students had gathered in front of Phefeni school when about 10 police vehicles containing about 30 policemen, mainly blacks, arrived. A section of the crowd then began taunting the police and waving placards at them. A white policeman replied by hurling what appeared to be a teargas shell.

Miss Tema said the crowd immediately became angry and began throwing stones and any other objects they could find. At no stage, she said, did the police warn the students to disperse. She then saw a white policeman pull out his revolver, point it and fire. Other policemen then began firing.

Two young students (one about seven years old) fell dead. The demonstrators continued to throw rocks and other objects at the cops. They began to march through the city fighting with cops and attacking government buildings and other symbols of the racist regime.

Exactly what went on in Soweto and other Black townships for the next few days is not clear, since the South African police immediately sealed the area off, preventing the press from getting direct reports. The regime then issued its own highly tendentious reports, blaming the rebellion various-

ly and contradictorily on "agitators" or drunken thugs with no political motivation.

What is clear is that the masses of Africans in Soweto and nearby Black townships exploded in reaction to the killings, the language policy, and other aspects of the oppression they face.

A dispatch in the June 18 *New York Times* reported that "youths armed with shovels, pickaxes, iron bars, knives and sticks" were in control of the streets of Soweto. Schools, government offices, stores, and other symbols of authority, racism, and exploitation were attacked and burned, in a manner reminiscent of the ghetto rebellions in the United States in the 1960s.

By the third day of the revolt, it had spread to Alexandra, Vosloorus, Natal-spruit, Katlehong, Tokosa, Daveyton, Tembisa, Kagiso, and other Black townships surrounding Johannesburg.

At the University of Zululand at Empangeni in Natal Province, Black students burned the main administration building. At the University of the North, at Turfloop, near Pietersburg, 125 miles from the Rhodesian border, students were injured when the police attacked 2,000 students who were holding a prayer meeting for the victims killed by the South African police.

Cops attack white students

In a June 16 dispatch in the *Washington Post*, Robin Wright reported that Soweto's Blacks had already won support from students at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University. Placard-carrying students marched down a main avenue of the city with slogans such as "Pigs kill again" and "We are standing by you, Soweto."

The next day, 200 white students from the same university marched through the city's streets protesting police violence against Blacks.

The students carried coffins made of cardboard and signs saying, "Black education kills," and "Your kids are next."

White and Black bystanders joined the march as it moved toward Johannesburg's downtown area, swelling it to 1,000. With the marchers shouting, "Power to Soweto!" and raising their fists in the Black power salute, the demonstration was attacked by 150 club-swinging cops and groups of white thugs.

On June 18, white students in Johannesburg and Cape Town attempted to hold demonstrations but were prevented by a government ban

on public gatherings.

In a June 19 dispatch, Burns reported that Vorster's riot squads had "apparently succeeded today in bringing calm to 11 black townships around Johannesburg" after what he described as "the toughest police action of the three days' rioting."

Language question

The issue that triggered the student actions in Soweto was the policy of the South African government to impose Afrikaans on Black schools.

Afrikaans is a Dutch-based language spoken by the majority of South African whites. Afrikaaner culture is very closely identified with the ruling Nationalist party and its policy of apartheid.

Most Black South African students receive instruction in English or in African languages. They generally prefer English because of hostility to the Afrikaners. English also gives them access to culture, political ideas, and information from the world outside of South Africa.

But the African youth in the townships raising the Black power salute and shouting, "Amandhla!" (Power), and their supporters in Johannesburg shouting, "Power to Soweto" were talking about more than overturning the language policy.

They were talking about taking power out of the hands of the white-settler minority of 4.1 million and putting it in the hands of the more than 20 million Blacks in South Africa.



Victim. A dead schoolboy.

NSCAR calls nat'l actions against killing in South Africa

The National Student Coalition Against Racism is calling upon its members across the country to take part in and initiate demonstrations in protest of U.S. complicity with the South African regime.

Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of NSCAR, told the *Militant*:

"NSCAR vehemently protests the recent killings and brutalizations of Black South Africans by the racist white minority regime. The Black upsurge occurred because the students refuse to learn a language that they feel is an oppressive language to their culture and their way of life.

"NSCAR 100 percent supports the struggle of Black South Africans to control their own country.

"We feel that it is very important that brothers and sisters all across

the country, organizations like the NAACP, our NSCAR chapters, and others, initiate protest activities against the bloody wave of violence that the minority regime has unleashed to suppress the Blacks.

"Furthermore, we demand that the United States government keep its hands off South Africa and that it completely cease to aid the Vorster regime in any way.

"Kissinger's meeting with Vorster gives support to the white racist regime no matter what they say in public."

Dixon said that he believed the Black students had shown a determination to carry on their struggle despite repression. The NSCAR leader called for continued action to support them in this country.

Mass action & the NAACP

By Malik Miah

On June 28-July 2, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) will hold its sixty-seventh convention in Memphis, Tennessee.

The NAACP has been in the forefront of the struggle to end school desegregation. Since 1954, the NAACP has filed hundreds of suits aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in both secondary and higher education. The court-ordered desegregation plans in Boston, Detroit, and other northern cities, for example, were a result of NAACP suits.

These efforts by the NAACP and other organizations to win full legal equality for Black people are now under sharp attack.

Escalating threats by President Ford and other government and Democratic and Republican party officials against busing to achieve school desegregation have posed sharply the need for the NAACP to develop a strategy to answer these attacks.

Undoubtedly, the NAACP convention will focus much of its attention on how to respond to this.

As an organization already deeply rooted in the Black communities of this country, the NAACP through its local branches has been forced to grapple with the problem of how legal battles, electoral politics, and independent mass action relate to a successful strategy to defend the democratic rights of Black people.

The burning needs of the Black community for answers to these questions makes the outcome of the discussion at the NAACP convention of great importance to all those seeking to build a broad, united movement in defense of Black rights.

At its convention the NAACP may appoint a new executive director for the half-million-member organization. Longtime NAACP leader Roy Wilkins plans to retire, and a screening committee is looking for a successor.

The purpose of this article is to contribute to the discussion on the NAACP's role in the Black movement and to analyze the NAACP's present strategy to win Black equality.

Formed in 1909

To understand the present strategy of the NAACP, it is helpful to examine the history of the organization.

The founding conference of the NAACP was in 1909. It was called by a group of white northern liberals and a handful of Blacks after an outbreak of racist violence the year before. Scores of Blacks had been killed and wounded by white rioters in Springfield, Illinois.

The only Black among the NAACP's founding officers was Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. Four years earlier DuBois had founded an all-Black organization dedicated to the eradication of race discrimination, the Niagara Movement.

The goals of the NAACP in 1910 included: abolition of enforced segregation; equal educational advantage for Blacks and whites; enfranchisement for Blacks; and enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the United States Constitution.

This modest program—which still hasn't been fully met—was denounced by a number of white liberals, including some who financially supported Black institutions. This was the response of so-called "friends of the Negro."

Early victories

As a multiracial organization with the aim of fully integrating Blacks in the American system, the early NAACP received little support from elected city, state and federal officials. Nonetheless, the NAACP won three major legal decisions during its first fifteen years.

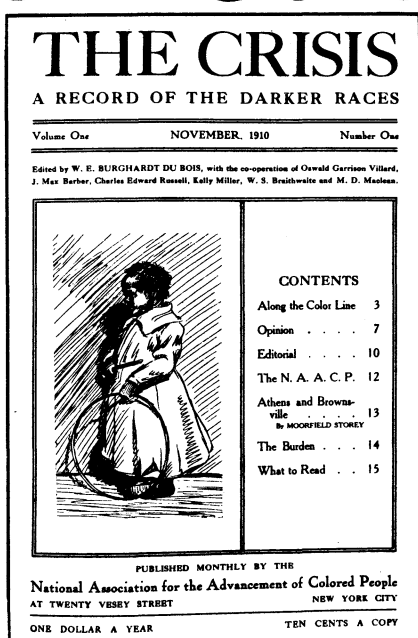
These successes also made the association the number one target of attacks by bigots.

In 1915 the Supreme Court ruled against the "grandfather" clauses that had kept Blacks from voting in several states. In 1917 city ordinances requiring Blacks to live in certain sections of a town were struck down. And in 1923 a murder conviction of a Black was overturned because Blacks were excluded from the jury that convicted him.

These legal victories were hailed by Blacks across the country. Hundreds of new members (Black and white) joined the NAACP as a result of these gains.

The NAACP's fight to end racial discrimination and segregation in all aspects of American life led the association in the 1930s and 1940s to play an important role in defense of the rights of Black workers.

During World War II, the NAACP also defended



From its beginning, when W.E.B. DuBois edited its magazine, through today's struggles for school desegregation, NAACP has helped lead the fight for Black rights.

Black GIs discriminated against in the armed forces. The NAACP wholeheartedly supported A. Philip Randolph's planned July 1, 1941, march on Washington, D.C., to demand the right of Blacks to work in the war industries. (This march was finally canceled after President Roosevelt—fearing a mass mobilization for Black rights—issued an executive order setting up the Fair Employment Practices Commission.)

The NAACP's most significant victory, however, came in 1954. In *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court ruled 9-0 that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. This historic decision helped to spur on the civil rights movement that finally killed Jim Crow segregation in the South.

The NAACP's main strategy involves relying on the legal system of this country to protect and extend the rights of Blacks. In this work, the NAACP has scored notable victories. But the organization has failed to recognize the degree to which these advances have been linked to mass actions by Black people.

This has led to a policy of placing too much confidence in the good intentions of the courts and Democratic and Republican party politicians. And too little confidence in the potential power of the masses of Black people to actively bring about political and social change.

The Association has supported demonstrations to pressure the government to protect the constitutional rights of Blacks. But this is given much lower priority than filing court briefs and lobbying Congress. Many leaders, in fact, are totally opposed to demonstrations.

April 24 and NAACP

The problem with this strategy was shown this past spring when the NAACP refused to endorse the call for the recently postponed April 24 march on Boston for school desegregation.

A coalition of Boston Black community leaders called the action in response to the overwhelming need for a countermobilization against the mounting tide of racist violence and attacks on school desegregation.

The racists were egged on by the antibusing rhetoric of Democratic and Republican candidates during the presidential primary. April 24 would have been a powerful aid in pressuring the candidates to take a stand in defense of Black rights.

Margaret Bush Wilson, chairperson of the NAACP Board of Directors, wrote a letter explaining her reasons for refusing to endorse the march. In it she bluntly counterposed the demonstration to a strategy that had the effect of taking these racist politicians off the hook.

Wilson urged supporters of school desegregation to register voters instead of demonstrating. Mass protests, she said, could only harm the defense of school desegregation during an election year. Marches can play into the hands of the racists and thus set back the chances of candidates allegedly "sympathetic" to Black concerns, she argued.

But in fact, Black voter registration and mass actions such as the planned April 24 demonstration are not and should not be counterposed. It is only by building an independent movement of Blacks who are clearly ready to struggle for their rights that capitalist politicians can be forced to stop



taking the Black vote for granted.

In reality this is exactly how all the legal and political victories scored by Blacks in the last decades have been won.

Mass actions do have an impact on the politicians and policy makers in Washington.

This was shown by the gains won by the mass actions of the civil rights movement. Moreover, the Pentagon papers demonstrated conclusively the crucial impact the mass movement against the Vietnam War had on the White House and Pentagon during the 1960s.

Only an all-out struggle will defeat the current offensive against the economic and social standing of Black people. Our problems cannot be solved by reliance solely on lawsuits. Nor can we depend on the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The history of the Black movement as a whole and the NAACP in particular reveals that the courts and the government do not make their decisions about enforcing the rights of Black people in a vacuum.

These decisions are shaped by the strength and weakness of the activities in defense of equal rights undertaken by millions of Black people and their supporters. It was such a movement that won the civil rights gains of the 1960s.

The task before the NAACP and other supporters of Black equality today is to help rebuild such a powerful social movement.

Such a movement could even lay the basis for the formation of an independent Black political party to fight for the needs of Blacks—needs that the two capitalist parties ignore.

As the largest predominantly Black political organization in the country, the NAACP has the potential to play a leadership role in bringing such a movement about.

Hopefully, the new executive director will move the association in this direction. If there was ever a time for the NAACP to go beyond its present strategy, the time is now.

ISSUES IN BOSTON TODAY

THE RACIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST BUSING: The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back. By Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. 50 cents

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FROM MISSISSIPPI TO BOSTON: The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights. An Education for Socialists publication. 8½ x 11 format, 75 cents

Order these and other books and pamphlets on the Black liberation movement from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for our free catalog.

Under court order

Kelley orders massive search in FBI files

By Diane Rupp

FBI Director Clarence Kelley has ordered the most sweeping nationwide search through FBI files ever undertaken. The action is being conducted under orders from the federal judge hearing the Socialist Workers party suit against the government.

A fourteen-page memorandum from Kelley to the fifty-nine FBI field offices details where agents must look and what they have to produce for the lawsuit. The memorandum was made

public June 20 by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Kelley ordered the massive document hunt after U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa told government lawyers to gather all the FBI records on what the bureau has done to SWP and Young Socialist Alliance members.

The Senate and House committees on intelligence tried to get such information on political spying. But both committees complained about the FBI's refusal to turn over all the

documents needed.

Kelley directed the agents to check beyond their regular files for material. They must comb through the "personal" folders and safes of Special Agents in Charge of field offices (SACs). And, perhaps for the first time, the top-secret "do not file" files must be thoroughly reviewed.

The FBI director warned agents conducting the search that "if it is subsequently determined that pertinent information has been withheld, judicial sanctions could be invoked and the FBI's credibility seriously harmed."

"It is imperative that all information and documents . . . be produced at this time and experienced personnel assigned to the task," says the memo. The FBI director knows just how "imperative" the document search is since a contempt-of-court motion is now pending against him.

The socialists' attorneys moved to hold Kelley in contempt of court last April when the FBI effort to cover up its burglaries came to light. For three years the FBI denied it had burglarized the SWP and YSA. When records of ninety-four such burglaries surfaced from a "do not file" file, the FBI tried to suppress the information for several months.

Judge Griesa accepted the motion to hold Kelley in contempt of court, but decided not to rule on it, yet.

Agents are under directions to look for twenty-five types of FBI operations against the socialists.

For example, agents must produce records on FBI thefts. Kelley calls these "seizure or retention of property of security subjects without judicial process."

Agents must even report FBI "trash covers." That's bureau lingo for steal-

ing and searching through garbage.

The list of FBI operations goes on to include: illegal break-ins, unauthorized wiretaps, mail covers, electronic surveillance, seizure of bank records, interviews with socialists' landlords and employers, pretext phone calls, use of the attorney general's list of "subversives" or any other similar security index, plus "any and all devices to harm the reputation" of SWP and YSA members.

Also being searched for is evidence of operations against the socialists carried out by right-wing thugs under "direction by the FBI or with knowledge of the FBI." Kelley names as an example the Chicago Legion of Justice. This gang carried out several attacks against the SWP and YSA in 1969-70.

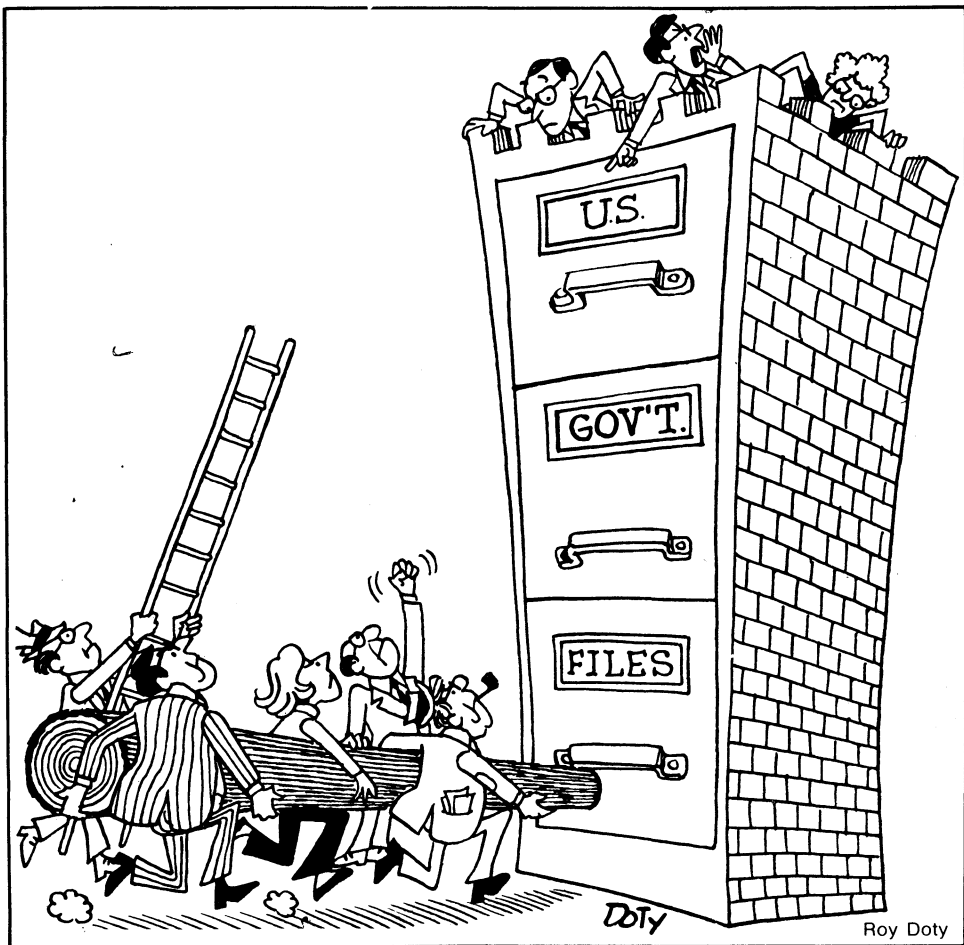
Kelley adds that field offices should "be alert to any Cointelpro or disruptive actions [against the SWP and YSA] that have not been reported."

Kelley concluded his memo with directions on how to censor the files before they are turned over to the socialists. Agents are to use black grease pencils to blot out all FBI agents' names and "administrative data."

It appears from the documents already turned over that these grease pencils not only mark out names and a few notes. The censors are trying to keep anything embarrassing or illegal in the FBI records from coming to light.

These efforts to keep details about FBI political spying and disruption secret have only been partially successful, however.

The 20,000 pages turned over thus far have uncovered damning details of the FBI's Cointelpro program and other routine illegal operations, such as the burglaries.



Trying to stonewall

CIA agent questioned for socialist lawsuit

By Diane Rupp

Paul Haefner has been a CIA agent for twenty-five years. But June 11 was the first time he had faced an assignment like this. In response to a socialist lawsuit, Haefner was required to answer questions, under oath, about the CIA's files and operations.

Michael Krinsky, an attorney for the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance, asked the questions. The socialists were able to interrogate Haefner because they are suing the CIA, FBI, and other government agencies.

Before the lawsuit against government harassment goes to trial, federal agencies must turn over evidence on what they have done to the socialists. And the SWP and YSA will get sworn testimony from a number of agents like Haefner.

Before the questions began Haefner pulled a slip of paper from his pocket to pass around the table. "That's Spiro Agnew's autograph!" he bragged. Then he tossed a silver dollar on the table. That was a good-luck piece he had carried since the 1930s, the CIA agent explained.

Haefner also brought along three lawyers, one from the Justice Department and two from the CIA. These lawyers were there, like the good-luck charms, to protect Haefner from questions and make sure he didn't say too much.

During the questioning Haefner's lawyers objected to questions eight times. On twenty-five occasions they ordered the agent not to answer. On

seventy-one additional occasions government lawyers jumped in to "clarify" or answer for Haefner.

The CIA agent and his lawyers also took time out twenty-five times for private conferences. The government team needed these huddles, as one government lawyer put it, "to get our language together."

Haefner reached the point where he would not even answer about facts that are already public.

For example, former CIA chief William Colby has admitted on television that the CIA sends information on political dissidents to other governments. Yet Haefner refused to answer whether the CIA shared information with foreign countries.

Despite all these objections and refusals, Haefner's testimony gives a peek at how the CIA operates. The CIA agent at least defined a few terms.

Informant. This is anyone who says anything to a CIA agent. Haefner explained it with an example:

"To illustrate, I am in X city overseas. I am invited to a social event. I am introduced to X number of people whom I have never met before. I converse with those people. In the course of the conversation they say certain things. . . . That individual is totally unaware of the fact that he has apprised me or informed me of information that may or may not be useful. That's an informant."

Agent or asset. The CIA often calls its agents "recruited assets." Krinsky asked if at least these agents know

they are working for the CIA. Haefner answered:

"Only if the CIA operative abroad has been granted permission by headquarters to inform the agent that he has been recruited by CIA."

Krinsky asked if the agent even knows that he or she is giving information to the U.S. government. Haefner replied, "Not necessarily."

Haefner also told about the "201" files, those records the CIA keeps on individuals. In particular, he described the "201" files set up by Operation Chaos.

Operation Chaos was begun by the CIA in 1967 to try to prove that the Black struggle, antiwar demonstrations, and student activity were all just foreign plots.

Operation Chaos lasted seven years. It collected information about 300,000 persons and organizations. The CIA admits Chaos set up files on 7,200 U.S. citizens.

Haefner testified that the CIA still maintains an active index of the "201" files set up by Operation Chaos. The files are indexed not only in the Chaos computer but also in the CIA's central computer system.

Moreover, some of the Chaos information went into the CIA's permanent files. Before Chaos began the CIA already had "201" files on some American dissidents. When the program started, a government lawyer explained for Haefner, those "201s were shipped down on permanent loan, like you charge out a library book, to Operation Chaos."

Haefner went on to explain that as Chaos collected information it kept these records it had borrowed from the main filing system up to date.

The SWP had demanded that the CIA produce a witness who could testify about *all* the agency's operations against the socialists. Haefner did not fill this bill.

He refused to answer many of the most important questions. Does the CIA try to use overseas agents to disrupt SWP activities? Does the CIA use electronic surveillance against the SWP or its members? Does the CIA carry out burglaries of American citizens overseas?

Haefner objected to answering these questions because, he claimed, the CIA has a right to protect its "sources and methods."

The socialists' attorneys will request that the court order the CIA to provide answers to these questions.

Public hearings

U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa is holding pretrial hearings on the lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and harassment. The hearings are open to the public.

For more information about the schedule for the hearings call the Political Rights Defense Fund, (212) 691-3270.

Willie Mae Reid

Socialist vice-presidential nominee on tour

During June Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid took her campaign to Milwaukee; Washington, D.C.; New York City's Lower East Side; and Richmond, Virginia.

Below are reports on Reid's campaign meetings in those cities.

Richmond

By Toba Singer

RICHMOND, Va.—Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid spoke to a public meeting here Saturday, June 22, to help mobilize support for an ambitious drive to put the SWP on the Virginia ballot for the first time in the party's history.

Virginia socialists aim to collect well over the 9,000 signatures required by state law to land a ballot spot.

Also speaking at the meeting was Bessida White, a member of the policy board of the Virginia Women's Political Caucus and of the National Black Feminist Organization. White urged support to Reid's campaign.

Of the thirty-four participants, three asked to join the Socialist Workers party and five others signed up to attend classes on socialism sponsored by the newly formed campaign committee in Richmond.

New York

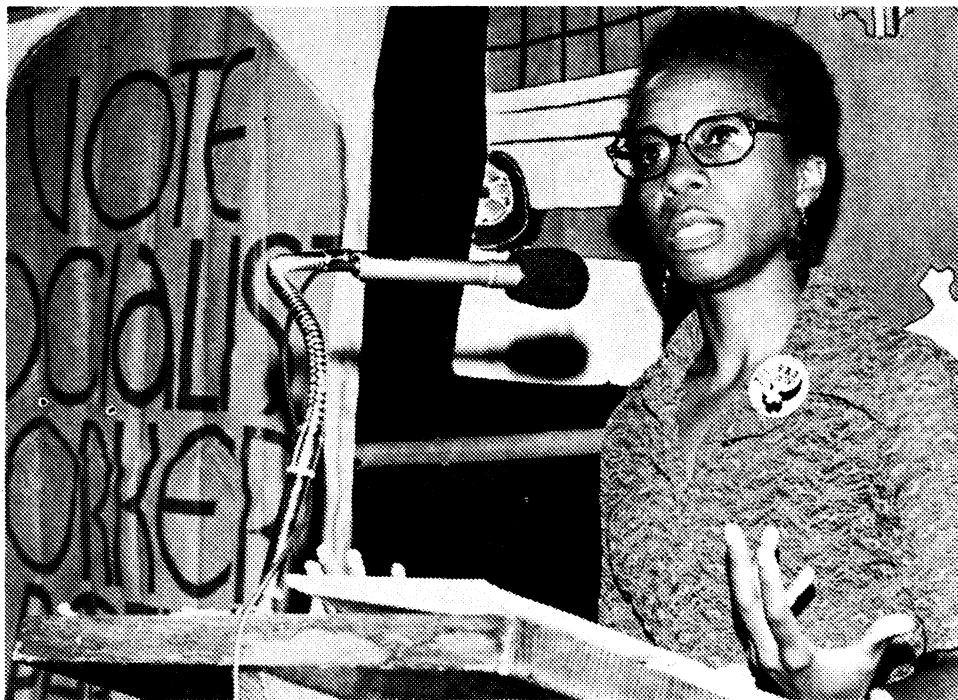
By Mary Wismer

NEW YORK—Sixty people turned out June 18 to hear Willie Mae Reid and Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the Eighteenth District. The meeting was held at the SWP's headquarters on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

"The Democrats are trying to convince us that a new savior has been created—Jimmy Carter," Reid said. "Carter says he's opposed to 'mandatory' busing—just a shade different from what the outright racists say."

"But we're supposed to believe that he will fight for the rights of the Black community just because he says he calls Black Congressman Andrew Young 'Andy' and Martin Luther King, Sr., 'Daddy.'"

What about the Democrats' platform? "It offers nothing to the working people of this country," Reid insisted. "It's just like the old television commercial, 'Promise her anything, but give her Arpège.' The platform is just a perfume to cover up the stink of the



Reid speaking at socialist campaign rally in Washington, D.C.

Militant/Ed Mattos

Democrats' real program of billions for the Pentagon but cutbacks for us."

Garza spoke about the New York City budget crisis. "How are the rulers going to solve this crisis? Is Rockefeller going to give up his ranch in Venezuela? Are the landlords going to return the money they have milked from this city?"

"You all know the answer," Garza said. "We—the working people of this city—are going to pay."

Garza said that only a mass response by New York unions, community groups, and students can turn the tide. "Massive demonstrations and strikes can win victories for the working people of this city," he said.

Washington

By Sara Smith

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Eighty-five people crowded into a small church here June 11 to hear SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid.

Because of the sultry summer heat common to the South, dozens of hastily improvised fans moved lazily throughout the audience, cooling faces riveted on Reid as she spoke.

Reid hailed the expansion of the socialist movement in the Washington, D.C., area. Until recently there was only one SWP headquarters in the area; but now branches of the party exist in both southeast and northwest Washington, as well as in Prince

Georges County, Maryland.

Washington, D.C., socialists are running Eli Green and Dorothy Hawkins for city council. Green, a young Black activist, blasted the failure of Democratic and Republican candidates to deal with the problems facing the city's residents, 80 percent of whom are Black.

Green's Democratic party opponent is incumbent council member Marion Barry. Barry has proposed a freeze on city employment that will mean the loss of more than a thousand jobs. The jobless rate in D.C. is already 12 percent for adults and 40 percent for young people, according to government figures.

"The major question facing Blacks here is inadequate housing," Green said. He pointed to the case of thirty Black families—some of whom have lived in their current homes for as long as forty years—who have been handed eviction notices. A speculator plans to remodel their homes and sell them as townhouses to middle-class whites.

"This is happening throughout the city," Green said, pledging his support to the thirty families, who have refused to vacate. "We say renovate, yes, but with federal money and for the Black families who live in these houses."

Although by Barry's own figures 77,000 people live in substandard housing in Washington, the city council has announced the construction of only a few hundred new housing units, well-timed for the elections. "Even this

vote-catching ploy is still bottled up in one of Councilman Barry's committees," Green said.

Hawkinson, a social worker in the field of health care, blasted the cutbacks by the Department of Human Resources in the city's Medicaid budget. This "economy measure" wiped 40,000 people from the Medicaid rolls.

"These cutbacks mean death to poor and working people, and to the elderly," Hawkins said. "It's as simple as that."

She called for crash federal funding for hospitals and health care, pointing out that the \$20 million needed to keep the 40,000 on Medicaid "is peanuts compared to the \$100 billion this country spends for war preparations."

Milwaukee

By Robert Schwarz

MILWAUKEE—"Would each of the panelists comment on their attitude toward beginning to organize an independent Black political party right now?"

This question typified the discussion at the "Black Women's Political Forum" sponsored by the United Black Community Council (UBCC) here June 8. Held in the Black community at the Martin Luther King Community School, the panel included Willie Mae Reid; Phyllis Kirk, delegate to the Democratic party national convention; and Annette Williams, candidate for assembly in the Democratic primary.

The forum drew more than eighty people, two-thirds of them Black. The discussion centered on independent Black political action versus working for change through the Democratic party. Earlier this year the UBCC ran one of its leaders, Michael McGee, as an independent candidate for alderman.

The following day Reid attended a news conference at the offices of the *Milwaukee Courier*, one of the city's two Black weeklies. Reporters from the *Star-Times*, the other Black weekly, and the *Bilalian News* interviewed Reid. She was also interviewed by WQFM, the major FM rock station here.

Reid's tour came in the middle of efforts to place the SWP presidential ticket, as well as socialist candidate for U.S. Senate Robert Schwarz, on the Wisconsin ballot. The Wisconsin socialists face a July 13 filing deadline. To help out with the petitioning, contact Norbert Francis at (414) 289-9340.

Michigan parties challenge unfair ballot law

By Ronald Jamgochian

DETROIT—A new law restricting the number of political parties that can be on the ballot in Michigan came under legal attack here last month, as the American Civil Liberties Union filed suit in federal court to have the law voided.

The ACLU is representing the Socialist Workers, Socialist Labor, Human Rights, Communist, and Communist Labor parties in the suit.

In the past, 18,000 signatures of registered voters had to be collected to get on the ballot. The new law adds an additional requirement making it necessary to get 0.3% of the total vote—or about 3,000 to 4,000 votes—in an August primary election.

At a news conference announcing the suit, the ACLU charged that the new law is undemocratic and unconstitutional. By restricting the number of parties on the ballot, the ACLU representative said, the law will deny Michigan voters the right to a choice in the elections.

Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate Paula Reimers noted, "The

Democrats and Republicans have attempted to add the hurdle of a second election, not to find the choice of the people, but to prevent the people from being able to choose any but the major parties' candidates."

James Sim, state chairman of the Socialist Labor party, and Tom Dennis, state chairman of the Communist party, added that under the guise of ballot reform the state was banning political parties from the elections because of the tremendous popular discontent with the policies of the governing parties.

Most of Michigan's citizens do not vote, and fewer each year consider themselves Democrats or Republicans. By restricting voter choice, the law seeks to do legally what decades of illegal government spying and harassment have failed to accomplish. It attacks the very legitimacy of minority parties and viewpoints.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) has been working closely with the ACLU and has initiated an endorsers' campaign to win wide backing for the suit.



Militant/Darren Crown

REIMERS: "Democrats and Republicans want to prevent voters' right to choose."

Unionists, civil libertarians back spot on November ballot for California socialists

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Socialist Workers party is winning significant support in its drive to gain a place on the California ballot. With the most undemocratic election laws in the country, California requires 100,000 signatures of qualified voters for an independent ticket to be put on the ballot.

The Socialist Workers party intends to secure more than that number to put its presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid on the state ballot, along with Omari Musa, the party's nominee for U.S. senator.

Among those who have already registered their support for the SWP's right to a ballot spot is the state executive board of Social Services Union Local 535, an affiliate of the Service Employees International Union.

At its meeting of June 13, the union board adopted a resolution declaring that: "Social Services Union Local 535, in accord with its support for election law reform in California, supports the

efforts of the Socialist Workers party to qualify its candidates, Peter Camejo, Willie Mae Reid and Omari Musa for the 1976 California ballot."

Because the election law was previously even more restrictive, this is the first time the SWP is contending for a ballot place. Until a recent modification by the state legislature, the law required that independent nominees file more than 300,000 signatures.

Even at 100,000, the job is so huge as to constitute a curb on ballot rights. Because of this, many have endorsed the SWP petition drive without necessarily subscribing to its political platform.

Among those who have lent their support to the effort are U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums, Alameda County Judge Dawn Girard, and Berkeley city council members Ying Lee Kelly and John Denton.

Also endorsing the effort is Lehman Brightman, a prominent figure in the American Indian Movement.

The University of California at

Berkeley student senate also voted to endorse the drive, as did eleven faculty members there.

Also supporting the SWP's ballot rights are Dr. Louis Simpson, Jr., past president of the Interns & Residents Association at Martin Luther King Hospital in Los Angeles, and Gretchen Mackler, president of the Alameda County Federation of Teachers.

A number of prominent attorneys have lent their name to the cause, including Vincent Hallinan, Howard Moore, and Charles Garry.

At Merritt College in Oakland, endorsements were made by Robert Randolph, president of the faculty senate; Melvin Newton, coordinator of ethnic studies; and Cecilia Arrington, chairperson of the Black studies department.

Another endorser is Richard Navies, head of the Black studies department at Berkeley High School.

The drive is also supported by Larry Schwartz, executive board member of the San Diego American Civil Liberties Union, and Dick Powell, Hollywood writer and civil liberties activist.

The mammoth petition drive will open July 10 and continue in high gear for three weeks. On the three Saturdays beginning July 10, there will be major mobilizations of Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance members and supporters, as well as independent activists who will be helping.

Petitioning will also go on weekdays and evenings. The SWP and YSA are appealing to everyone to pitch in. Already there are indications of a gratifying response. In Berkeley, sixteen independent activists have already signed up to participate in the petitioning or related clerical processing.

Following the Saturday petitioning drives, open houses will be held at campaign offices in the Bay Area, the Los Angeles area, and San Diego. Information on this and on petitioning dispatch centers can be obtained at the addresses and phone numbers listed in the accompanying box.

Peter Camejo, the dynamic socialist presidential nominee, will be in California from June 17 through July 10, the opening day of petitioning, to help win support for the ballot drive. He will be speaking at rallies and campus



Congressional Black Caucus leader Ronald Dellums is among those endorsing SWP drive to win ballot status in California.

meetings as well as making media appearances.

Vice-presidential nominee Willie Mae Reid will make a stop in Los Angeles July 8-10 en route to fill speaking engagements in Australia.

She too will be on hand for the big petition kickoff July 10.

San Diego kickoff rally

By Mark Schneider

SAN DIEGO—"The primaries are now over, and Udall and Wallace have both announced their support for Jimmy Carter's platform. The left and right wings of the Democratic party stand for the same thing. So what were the primaries about? . . .

"I urge California voters to cast the only meaningful vote possible next November—vote socialist."

Both the NBC- and CBS-affiliated television stations here aired this statement by Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo June 18. Camejo's news conference at the San Diego Press Club was also covered by four radio stations and the two major daily newspapers.

Camejo was in town to announce the California SWP's plans to gather more than 100,000 signatures to put a socialist alternative on the November ballot.

Camejo also addressed a spirited

campaign meeting of sixty campaign supporters at San Diego City College June 20.

Messages of support to the socialist ballot drive were heard from Larry Schwartz, a prominent civil libertarian and San Diego City College professor; Linda D'Addario, of the National Organization for Women; and Herman Baca, of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights in nearby National City.

Baca's message said, "I support the efforts of the SWP and other progressive political parties like Partido La Raza Unida in seeking ballot status not only here in California but throughout the United States. . . .

"Now more than ever it is the time for new political alternatives to be presented to the American working public. To this end I support your effort and wish you luck in your petition drive."

Wide support for SWP ballot effort in Missouri

By Barbara Bowman

ST. LOUIS—Missouri petitioners are well on their way to collecting substantially more than the required 17,844 signatures of registered voters needed to win the Socialist Workers party a place on the November ballot.

Of the 17,000 signatures already gathered, 8,000 were collected by an eight-person team petitioning in five of the state's ten congressional districts. The distribution and large numerical requirements make Missouri's election laws among the most restrictive in the country.

Meeting the legal requirement, however, is no guarantee that the SWP will secure a place on the ballot.

Although it had completely complied with the law in its 1974 attempt to gain ballot status for Barbara Mutnik, a candidate for U.S. Senate, the Socialist Workers party became the target of a campaign of harassment and legal maneuvering by Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick.

Kirkpatrick refused to certify the SWP for ballot status on the grounds that it had not met new requirements

passed after its petitions had been filed.

SWP campaign workers proved Kirkpatrick's processing of petitions was totally fraudulent. An independent check of the petitions found that thousands of valid signatures had been rejected, including those of a state representative, a congressional candidate, and even Mutnik herself.

To ensure that Kirkpatrick will not repeat such abuses, the Missouri SWP recently kicked off a civil liberties campaign in defense of its right to be on the November ballot. So far, endorsements have been received from Otis Bolden, director of the Yeatman Health Center; Phyllis LaFata, YWCA; and Eldora Spiegelberg, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Also, Mary Ann Seday, National Organization for Women; Ernest Calloway, professor of urban studies at St. Louis University; attorneys Anna Forder and Paul Hales; Margaret Phillips; Dr. H.T. Blumenthal; and Washington University professors Robert Johnson, Richard Walter, and Richard Radcliff.

Mass. tops 60,000



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Carol Henderson Evans, Massachusetts SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, collects signatures to ensure a November ballot spot for herself and the socialists' national ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Restrictive ballot laws in the state require the signatures on nominating petitions of 37,000 registered voters. The SWP had collected more than 61,000 signatures as of June 20 and plans to continue the drive through June 23. State law requires that all petitions be filed by June 29.

Busing demagoguery

In his latest bicentennial humbug, President Ford told an Indianapolis crowd on June 22 that "court-ordered, forced busing" is on a par with other "intrusions" by "overbearing government" such as FBI-CIA violations of civil liberties.

Adding a new argument to the arsenal of racist rationalizations for school segregation, Ford called for "freedom" from "oppressive, heavy-handed, bureaucratic government."

The same demagoguery is used by Jimmy Carter, who falsely likens antibusing bigots to opponents of special privilege for the wealthy. Carter claims, "I've never seen a rich kid bused."

Who do Ford and Carter think they're kidding?

The truth is that the government's "heavy hand" does not "oppress" the racists. It beckons them forward.

The truth is that government policies force Blacks and other minorities to endure lower pay, job discrimination, segregated and over-priced housing, inferior health, and shorter lives.

The real freedom fighters in 1976 are not the screaming mobs in Boston and Louisville being encouraged by the top Democrat and Republican party candidates.

The real freedom fighters are those who struggle against the forced, second-class status imposed on Blacks by this "oppressive" and "overbearing" capitalist government.

Lebanon

The Arab League's "peace-keeping" force that arrived in Beirut June 21 is a Trojan Horse. The force is an extension of Syria's offensive against the beleaguered leftist-Muslims and Palestinians who are fighting for their democratic rights in Lebanon.

The force, which has the full backing of Syria's President Assad, and which is half-composed of Syrian troops, entered Lebanon with the agreement of rightist-Christian forces whose efforts to maintain their privileged minority rule have plunged Lebanon into its bloody fourteen-month civil war.

The "peace-keeping" force is supposed to administer a ceasefire in Lebanon and a partial withdrawal of Syrian troops. But within twenty-four hours of its arrival, right-wing Christian militiamen shelled Palestinian and Lebanese-leftist neighborhoods and refugee camps.

The Syrian "withdrawal" is only a partial one that will preserve a number of options for Assad as he pursues this new stage in his offensive against the Palestinians.

Both Washington and Israel have so far been content to sit back and cautiously watch Assad's maneuvers.

However, the much-ballyhooed "rescue" by the U.S. Navy of Western residents in Lebanon should serve as a grim reminder that the danger of direct imperialist intervention continues if Washington becomes convinced that Assad's actions threaten to upset, rather than to advance, U.S. goals in the Middle East.

This underscores the need for all defenders of the Arab revolution to remain vigilant in demanding:

- Syria out of Lebanon!
- U.S. hands off the Middle East!

On the beach

"MINEOLA, L.I., June 22—All oceanfront beaches in Nassau County were ordered closed for bathing today as the mysterious incursion of sewage that has been washing up on the beachfronts of Long Island since last Tuesday moved westward toward New York City." (*New York Times*, June 23.)

The sixty miles of shoreline was closed because "large amounts of material, including fecal matter, had been washed up on the beaches. . . ."

The business interests that run New York City — it turns out — have found it more profitable to get rid of sewage simply by dumping it twelve miles off shore into the Atlantic Ocean.

Wall Street and its politicians have already made New York an unbearable place to work and live.

But did they have to go and ruin one of the few beaches we can escape to for a few hours on a Saturday or Sunday afternoon?

Letters

That's who Farrell Dobbs is

I had an interesting experience selling Pathfinder Press books at the New Democratic party (Canada's labor party) convention here in Ontario June 11-13. Many delegates were interested in Pathfinder books and pamphlets on a range of topics. As a salesperson, I would explain to delegates the relevance of the literature to their concerns.

But on one occasion, I didn't have to do the sales work. It was done for me by David Archer, president of the 800,000-member Ontario Federation of Labour.

Archer and a few other union delegates were passing the Pathfinder display. One unionist, seeing *Teamster Rebellion* on the table, asked Archer, "Who's Farrell Dobbs?"

"Well," replied Archer, "in Minneapolis in the early 1930s, the Trotskyists led the Teamsters there. It was the only part of the Teamsters union that was democratic and militant. And they helped lay the basis for the rise of the CIO."

The union delegate proceeded to buy three books in Dobbs's *Teamster* series, and a copy of *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis.

It goes to show that the activity of the Minneapolis Teamsters still is providing prestige for the Trotskyist movement, even forty years later.

George Addison
Toronto, Ontario

New feminist reader

Just read the June 11 *Militant* article on the Equal Rights Amendment rally in Springfield, Illinois.

I also enjoyed your report on the abortion issue.

Sandi Skorniak
Omaha NOW vice-president
Omaha, Nebraska

Stop FBI terror tactics

Stop FBI terror tactics on all American Indian Movement people.

Since the beginning of 1976, FBI harassment on Indian people, especially on AIM members, has increased 100 percent.

The FBI's latest conquest is Canada. With the help of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the provincial police they have managed to arrest and bring back to the United States AIM people who live in Canada. My brothers in Canada now have a taste of our beloved FBI.

For the American Indian and Canadian Indian there is no law—it is a fight for survival and just plain existing. We must keep strong whatever the odds.

Always remember—the American Indian Movement does not start trouble—they expose it.

Skouk Psaklazi
Albany, New York

Better off oppressed?

It is more cynical than naïve to argue that the Equal Rights Amendment, once passed, would result in women losing their alleged privileges while gaining only spurious rights.

It is equally cynical to argue that the Palestinians are better off as refugees and as a subjugated people under Israeli military rule. Such arguments recall the slavocrats pleading that emancipation of the Blacks would entail loss of many of their rights, or

the man who rapes a woman and justifies his act by, "Oh, it was all for her good."

These instances of violence—they can easily be multiplied—are not violently yoked. In addition to their similarity of character, they flow toward one another through the attraction of hypocrisy and cynicism underlying them.

Indeed, it must be symptomatic of a grave illness to speak of the happiness or contentment of the Palestinians as the result of their exile, fragmentation, military subjugation, and usurpation of their land and property by the Israelis; and of women's "privileges" as the Phyllis Schlaflys put it, as a result of male exploitative and discriminatory practices, both social and economic.

It is obvious that we need to remind ourselves constantly of the most elementary truth that none can ever enjoy or benefit from denial, repression, or inequity, particularly when he or she is the victim.

Bahieh Musa
Washington, D.C.

A series on death penalty

One topic that we here in New Orleans think might be valuable in the pages of the *Militant* is an article or series of articles on the death penalty.

This series could investigate how many hundreds of prisoners around the country currently await execution pending the Supreme Court ruling; the percentage of these prisoners who are Black; and the percentage who were convicted of crimes against whites.

Also, the number of death-row prisoners in the South; how states have gotten around the original Supreme Court decision by changing their laws; what crimes are considered capital offenses; and how the United States compares with other industrial countries.

And, of course, an analysis of how the campaign to restore the death penalty fits into the picture of the entire racist offensive going on across the nation.

One prominent criminal attorney here estimates only a 40 percent chance that the Supreme Court will outlaw the death penalty, which means literally hundreds of victims of racist injustice would await execution at once.

In our Gary Tyler defense work, we've learned that there are over thirty prisoners on death row in Louisiana alone. As usual, Black men accused of raping white woman are among the death-row prisoners.

The Gary Tyler case is merely the most prominent example in the broader question of how to stop legalized murder.

Joel Aber
New Orleans, Louisiana

NCLC slanders Sadlowski

Militant readers may be interested to know that the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), a fascistlike sect, has added Steelworkers Fight Back leader Ed Sadlowski to its list of targets for right-wing harassment. Steelworkers Fight Back is a movement in the United Steelworkers of America that is fighting to democratize the union by challenging the bureaucratic machine of USWA President I.W. Abel.

Recently, slates backed by Sadlowski won important victories in a number of key local union elections. The scope of

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international **socialist** review



The Decline of U.S. Power and the Crisis of World Stalinism

By Jack Barnes

Also:

- The Mood Among Working People--
Powerlessness, Alienation, Distrust
of the Government**
- Frank Donner--Spotlight on Police Red Squads**

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Bullies and Pimps

Scandals in Washington are nothing new. The history of capitalist politics abounds in them. But the current spate of scandals has some new elements that are worth noting.

They began with Elizabeth Ray's revelation that she had been paid \$14,000 a year out of public funds to be sexually at the service of Rep. Wayne Hays and any of his cronies that he wanted to influence. But it didn't stop there. The post-Watergate atmosphere encouraged others to come forward with further revelations. Day by day, the charges and exposés unraveled, implicating dozens of congressmen.

Colleen Gardner, who says she was pressured by Rep. John Young to have sex with him or lose her secretarial job, not only told her own story, but appealed to other government employees who had been similarly abused to speak out.

Gardner had tried to tell federal prosecutors in 1973 about Young's treatment of her, but her charges were ignored. Today, after three years of revelations about government corruption, assassination attempts, burglaries, and assorted other crimes, Gardner's story could not be hushed up as easily.

The current scandal is different not only in the large number of politicians implicated, but also in the content of the charges. What is involved are not only sensationalist allegations about these politicians' private lives, which are of no interest. The charges by Ray and Gardner point to the Democrats' and Republicans' use of government power and money to bully their employees—especially women employees—and to pimp for other politicians or capitalists whom they are trying to influence in their corrupt dealings.

Of course, the amount of public funds used by these politicians in buying sex is nothing in comparison to the billions they squander on military hardware. Thus the "sex scandal" is played up in the media as a sideshow to divert attention away from the much bigger crimes of the gang on Capitol Hill. But still, this scandal is important for what it reveals about the people who rule this country.

After Vietnam, the Pentagon papers, Watergate, Lockheed, and the CIA and FBI revelations, the current scandal has lifted another corner of the veil, revealing the true face of the American ruling class and its agents. Hays and Young were two of the most powerful people in Congress. It can only be assumed that the way they treat people is no different from that of the rest of Congress who put Hays and Young in their powerful positions.

The Hays-Young scandal shows that cash and force are the basis of the personal lives of the capitalist rulers, just as it is the basis of their foreign policy and of the domination of big business here at home. Indicative of these people's hollow and brutal lives was the statement by Secretary of State Kissinger, the Dr. Strangelove bomber of Vietnam, that for him, "power is the ultimate aphrodisiac."

The abusive treatment Hays and Young meted out to their employees—especially to women employees—is typical of what happens in capitalist society as a whole. An organization called Women Office Workers recently conducted a survey of female employees and found that one-third of those questioned said they had faced "direct sexual harassment" on the job. Sixty percent felt they were not treated with respect.

And if women quit after sexual abuse, says Suzanne Paul of Women Office Workers, it is difficult to get unemployment insurance. "They assume all women lie about it, like rape," Paul explained in an interview with the *New York Daily News*.

Colleen Gardner, for example, had told the unemployment office in 1973 that she had quit her job with Representative Young because of sexual harassment. The U.S. attorney's office was informed of this, but did nothing.

This latest scandal has punched a new hole

in the tattered moral authority of the U.S. ruling class. It is a confirmation of the rank hypocrisy of these politicians, who are always invoking God, proclaiming the "sanctity" of the family, preaching "law and order," condemning the "depravity" of petty criminals who are the victims of this system, and suggesting there is something immoral about a woman who wishes to have an abortion, or gay people who exercise their sexual preference. In 1967 Hays, Young, and their colleagues voted to exclude from the House one of the only Black congressmen at that time, Adam Clayton Powell, on charges of doing far less than what they have been doing.

The moral depravity of the capitalist class and its agents was spotlighted more than one hundred years ago by Karl Marx in the *Communist Manifesto*. Among the capitalists, Marx wrote, there is "left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.'"

Capitalism, Marx wrote, "has resolved personal worth into exchange value. . . ."

The capitalists and their politician agents accuse socialists of wanting to "destroy the family" or make women the "common property" of all men because socialists want personal relationships to be free of the burdens of economic want and legal compulsion. Marx pointed out that it is not socialists but the capitalist system that has treated women as property.

The whole point of socialism, he wrote, "is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production." The moral standards of the capitalist class have by no means changed for the better since Marx's time. They are still based on the "cash nexus." What is new today is that their mask of respectability and their pretenses of representing the way forward for humanity are being torn away before the eyes of millions, both in this country and throughout the world.

Victory on Busing

The June 14 refusal of the Supreme Court to hear appeals against court-ordered school desegregation in Boston is a victory for civil rights. The ruling followed the retreat by President Ford and Attorney General Levi from their decision to intervene in the case on the side of the antibusing racists. Ford's move had sparked immediate protest from a broad spectrum of Black leaders, from AFL-CIO President George Meany, and many other groups.

Ford and Levi were testing whether the time was ripe to put the federal government squarely on the side of opponents of school desegregation. The subsequent reaction, showing the breadth of support for busing, had the effect of staying their hand for the time being.

These developments were further evidence that the antibusing forces, although vocal and violent, are a small minority, while supporters of desegregation can bring vast power to bear if their forces are united in action.

The danger is far from past, however. The effort to roll back gains won by Black people over the past twenty years is a basic policy of the ruling class. Only determined mass action by the Black community and all its allies can deal a decisive defeat to the government-backed racist offensive.



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The Decline of U.S. Power and the Crisis of World Stalinism

By Jack Barnes

The presidential primaries have been the occasion for a debate on the world situation facing American imperialism. Of course, the real issues have not been presented by the aspirant Reagan, who thinks the United States government should hold on to part of Panama until the year 3000; or by Ford, who thinks they should keep part of Panama only until 2000; or by Carter, who has yet to say anything clear about foreign policy; or by Humphrey, who says that if your heart is in the right place your foreign policy will be also.

The serious debate over the problems facing American imperialism has been held elsewhere. The issues were summarized in a much-publicized exchange between Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and three candidates for his job if there is a Democratic administration in 1977-1981. The participants were George W. Ball, Paul C. Warnke, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, who constitute a kind of unofficial committee of foreign policy advisers for the Democrats.

The two sides did not confront each other directly; that would not be "proper." They spoke to different sessions of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. But the most revealing thing about the "debate" was the absence of disagreement on fundamentals among these four spokesmen for the ruling class.

Kissinger presented his picture of the major new problems facing American imperialism today. Although the April 14 *New York Times* reported that his "rivals" launched a "wide-ranging attack," not a single one of them "challenged Mr. Kissinger's stated goals." They criticized his style rather than the substance of his policies.

They considered it untimely for Mr. Kissinger to portray—at least in public—"the United States as divided and incapable of action."

Later, Ball made some frank comments which confirm that there is good reason for the majority of Americans to be fearful of the foreign policy of the ruling class. He described the policy as one that "risks subverting our institutions, puts a premium on furtiveness at the highest places, creates an obsession with what is banally—and, for the most part, improperly—called 'national security' and provides a factious justification for trespasses on individual freedom."

However, the source of the dangers that Ball describes so well hardly lies with the personal idiosyncrasies of Kissinger. And that was why Ball and his associates were incapable of enunciating any alternative. Kissinger's course, such as it is, reflects the harsh realities facing the American ruling class as it heads into the 1980s.

It reflects the decline of U.S. power and the uncontrollable upsurges of the class struggle the world over. It reflects what is happening in the United States as a result of the changing world situation and the new limitations imposed on the U.S. ruling class by the awareness of the American people themselves. It reflects recognition of the growing social crisis on the European continent and the specter of "Communist parties in power."

The period in which we are living is marked by the fact that the United States is only one member of a nuclear club that now includes

countries like India and Israel. It is also marked by the post-Vietnam restrictions, especially the domestic limits, on U.S. imperialism's crude, open, unrestrained use of its power.

There is an additional feature: the increasing instability of the major capitalist allies of the United States, which undermines the entire social system on a world scale. Even the two strongest of Washington's allies, Germany and Japan, are becoming unsettled.

The Decline of American Power

Kissinger is being portrayed as a historian with a gloomy philosophy. Among the gloomy citations ascribed to him have been the following:

"No responsible leader should encourage the illusion that America can ever again recapture the strategic superiority of the early postwar period."

"The economic history of the postwar period has been one of sustained growth. . . . The universal expectation of our peoples, the foundation of our political institutions, and the assumption underlying the evolving structures of peace are all based on the belief that this growth will continue. But will it? The increasingly open and cooperative global economic system that we have come to take for granted is now under unprecedented attack. The world is poised on the brink of a return to the unrestrained economic nationalism which accompanied the collapse of economic order in the thirties."

"Our greatest foreign policy problem is our divisions at home."

Upon reflection, it becomes obvious that the essence of Kissinger's problem is not merely psychological ("excessive gloom") but goes much deeper. He sees the reality of the shifting world relationship of class forces. What he is



'In a recent speech Kissinger formulated the historical outlook of the American ruling class quite aptly: Our country, he said, may "soon become an isolated fortress island in a hostile and turbulent global sea, awaiting the ultimate confrontation with the only response we will not have denied ourselves—massive retaliation."'

trying to grapple with is the biggest single fact of world politics: the striking decline in American power. This fact is verified anew with the events of every passing month. Most recently, it was symbolized by Angola. Far from inheriting the Portuguese empire, as was projected by American foreign policy, another disaster struck.

The fact that Cuban troops got away with landing in Africa to fight for "the other side," which won, sent shock waves not only through the American ruling class, but through European imperialist circles who look to and count on the strength of American imperialism to see them through their own coming trials.

There was much comment in the press about the American government's lack of an Angolan policy. In truth, while American imperialism has definite objectives, it has no clear-cut foreign policy nowadays. It lacks any confident scheme like "rolling back the Iron Curtain" to assure the "American century." Instead there is only a pragmatic adjustment day by day, month by month, using power—overt military power, covert military operations, the threat of military intervention, economic might—to shore up its defenses against a deteriorating world situation.

The *New York Times* summed this up with unusual frankness when it stated in an April 7 editorial: "Many of the international dilemmas confronting the United States cannot be solved but only managed. How to manage them in the new, more sober period that now has opened is the central question that the nation must begin to face—and the candidates have yet to answer."

But they won't.

Whoever occupies the White House, the answer ultimately given to all problems of foreign affairs is to increase the military budget, that already monstrous burden on the people. Guns instead of homes, food, social benefits—that is what is decreed.

Though the strategy of "rolling back communism," based on the illusions of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, has been discarded, it has not been replaced by a new strategy. It is hard to imagine what the replacement would be, other than a series of empirical expedients. It is the social and economic contradictions of capitalism in its decline that cause the crisis, the mass upsurges, the "problems." The weakening of the allies of American imperialism; the economic crippling of the semicolonial world, which is brutally reflected in the conditions in America's colony Puerto Rico; American capitalism's own "stagflation"—all preclude solving the underlying economic and social problems capitalism imposes on the majority of the world's population.

Détente

Turning to the diplomatic side of this situation, détente remains a component of American foreign policy, in spite of Ford's electioneering decision to drop the term. Not a single one of the conditions that gave birth to détente has changed. There is no realistic alternative course open to the American ruling class for the time being. In fact, détente is central to their efforts to muddle through.

Détente was based on the new realities of world politics, not just on ideas in Richard Nixon's head. It grew out of the dead end in Vietnam, mutual nuclear destructive capacity between the USSR and the U.S., growing economic pressures, and what Kissinger calls his greatest foreign policy problem—the opposition of the American people to the use of American military force in foreign countries.

This created a new situation which precluded a return to the cold-war strategy of rolling back the Iron Curtain. In fact, on Washington's side détente signified recognizing the status quo in Eastern Europe, recognizing the borders of the workers states as they now exist. Although a little battered, détente has already weathered the oil crisis, the depression of 1974-75, a Mideast war, the defeat in Vietnam, the crisis in Portugal,

Jack Barnes is the national secretary of the Socialist Workers party. He is coauthor of Towards an American Socialist Revolution (Pathfinder Press, 1971), A Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s (Pathfinder, 1972), and Prospects for Socialism in America (Pathfinder, 1976).

This article is based on a report given May 29 to a meeting of the SWP National Committee.

and Ford's debacle in Angola.

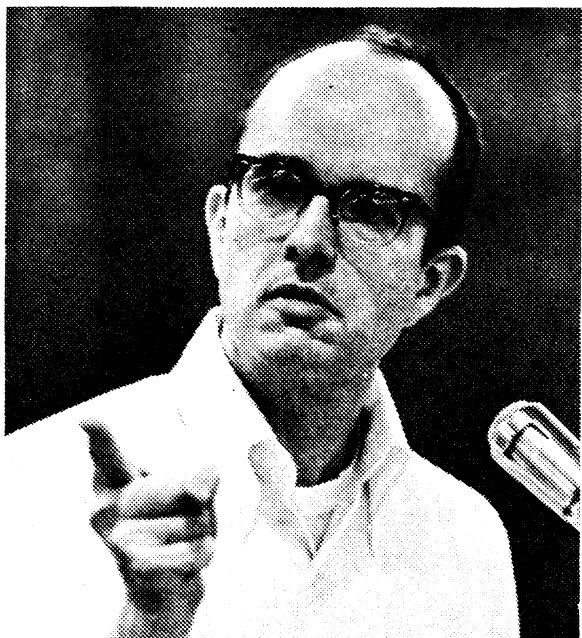
On the side of the Soviet bureaucracy, détente is based on the need for economic aid, especially advanced technology, and access to grain in the United States. These help cushion domestic tensions arising from the incapacity of "socialism in one country" to meet the needs of the masses.

In exchange, the American imperialists get some help in policing the world and maintaining, as best they can, the precarious division into spheres of influence. Both sides, hoisting their nuclear umbrellas, try to freeze the class struggle around the globe.

In different ways, both the American presidential campaign—regardless of the fulminations of Reagan and Jackson—and the recent Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union have reaffirmed the mutually agreed-upon course of détente.

Unpredictability and Explosiveness

But there is one great impediment in the way. The very prize that both the American rulers and the Soviet bureaucracy are after—stability, class peace, maintenance of the status quo—is exactly what détente cannot produce for them. Along with the ebbing of American power, the second major factor facing the American rulers is the instability, the challenges to the status quo, the ceaseless turmoil of the world situation, the unpredictability of outbreaks. Who would have



JACK BARNES

Nelson Blackstock

said several years ago that Portugal and Angola were next in line?

One example is the Middle East, where no force has been able to stabilize the situation. Despite the collaboration of various Arab regimes from time to time, neither Washington nor Moscow can stop the struggle against the racist colonial-settler state of Israel; they cannot stop the class struggle. That is true throughout the region, not just at the current flash points of Lebanon and the West Bank.

Now there is a new development, one that had been rumored, but was only recently confirmed. The Israeli regime has begun to produce nuclear bombs. The carefully timed leaks printed in *Time* and *Newsweek* in April disclosed the development of an Israeli nuclear arsenal. They also revealed that these weapons were assembled for use on the eve of the October 1973 war and that it was advance knowledge of this nuclear threat that provoked the Soviet government's reaction at that time.

Regardless of the desires of the American rulers, the Israelis are developing delivery systems for these nuclear weapons that are not only capable of reaching Cairo and Damascus, but even a number of major Russian cities.

Another feature of the instability is its pervasiveness in the semicolonial world, which has been devastated by the world recession. Here there seems to be one—and only one—form of "stability" that the American monopolists feel they can rely on. That is military dictatorships, the more ruthless the better. The most recent example was the Argentine coup, while the murderous Pinochet regime in Chile remains the model.

In Africa, not only in Angola, Zimbabwe, and

Namibia but throughout sub-Saharan Africa, no one now doubts that new impetus has been given to the struggle for national and social liberation. The American rulers had hoped they could stave it off for years, if not decades.

And then there is China. Even though it is unclear who the players on the top are and what they stand for, it would be a big mistake to underestimate the importance of what is happening in that nation of 800 million people in the Far East. Peking is tightly linked to the State Department's plans and the détente balancing acts of the American ruling class. China is in the throes of a new upheaval and no one knows where it can lead, including its prominent figures.

Moreover, for the first time there is evidence of independent activity on the part of at least a sector of the Chinese workers and youth—the layers the Chinese bureaucracy fears most. On that point they share nightmares with Ford, Kissinger, Humphrey, and the rest.

The Internationalization of Watergate

Japan, whose booming economy was particularly hard hit by the oil crisis and world recession, was affected in an unexpected way by the Lockheed scandal. It suddenly came to light that top figures in the Japanese government were involved in payoffs from the underworld and American big business.

This is a striking example of a worldwide phenomenon that could be called—for lack of a better term—the internationalization of Watergate.

Not only was the White House engaging in criminal activities, not only were the FBI and other agencies acting in the same way, and long before Watergate; not only did the crimes affect the Socialist Workers Party, the NAACP, the Black Panthers, the labor movement, and others in this country—this was being duplicated all over the world. The violation of their own laws was not just the "excessive policy" of an unbridled J. Edgar Hoover, but a concerted, consistent policy of the ruling class as a whole, of a number of its governmental agencies, of the labor bureaucracy, of the heads of the giant monopolies of American imperialism. They were actually involved in forming, supporting, giving instructions to, and installing and keeping in power the key bourgeois parties in some of the major capitalist countries in the world.

It has now been publicly admitted that the Christian Democrats in Italy and the Liberal Democrats in Japan were creatures of this combination. They were put together and financed in a secret alliance between the American rulers, the bourgeois figures in these countries, their respective mafias, and the CIA. These weren't secondary opposition parties. They were the main ruling bourgeois formations. One of them—in Italy—has been the governing party for three decades.

As the international economic and social crisis has deepened, those forces that many hoped would never be heard from—the oppressed nationalities, the women, the youth opposed to militarism and war, the prisoners—are being heard from more and more in those places too. It is fitting that the latest Italian government was brought down by the abortion-rights struggle of the Italian women and by the exposure of the U.S. government-Lockheed scandal. This can be considered as an ironic manifestation of "Americanization" abroad.

Crisis in Europe

The political instability and rising social turmoil in capitalist Europe have been unnerving to the American rulers. That continent is where American foreign policy, which included colossal material aid under the Marshall Plan, had supposedly worked a post-World War II "miracle," creating the strongest concentration of satellite powers. Now even the most optimistic official spokesmen recognize the depth of the growing social crisis of European capitalism.

Instead of moving toward Common Market unity, which would reinforce stability, as they had hoped, Western Europe is moving toward greater disunity, sharpening competition, and increasing social unrest. The strongest countries, like Germany, grow at the expense of the weaker ones, like Italy. But the crises of the weaker threaten to pull down the entire edifice.

The very things the American rulers need most seem to be slipping away. The prospect of a confident, stable capitalist Europe, governed by strong bourgeois parties that can be counted on, sharing more and more of the burden of policing the world and picking up the tab for the armaments budgets—that's a fading vision. Not since the consolidation of their victory in World War II have America's rulers been faced by so grim a perspective.

It is worth taking a closer look at developments in Europe, along with the specter of "Communist power." What is behind this great fear? What is behind the drumbeating by Kissinger and his colleagues that they will "not accept" Communist parties in the governments of major capitalist countries in Europe?

Behind the bellicose rhetoric, the truculent diplomacy, the saber-rattling for electoral purposes, there are two elements of prominent importance for understanding what is happening in Europe today and the implications of these developments for the class struggle in the United States and elsewhere. One is the depth of the social crisis in Europe, which is more reminiscent of the 1920s and 1930s than anything we have seen in recent decades. The other is the advancing disintegration and vulnerability of world Stalinism.

First, we have to estimate the economic and social crisis and the resultant radicalization of important sections of the European working class. This is partially a result of one of the important "successes" of American foreign policy—the economic offensive begun in 1971 with the Nixon-Connally wage freeze, the wage-cutback campaign, and the foreign trade offensive, an offensive that was carried forward during the oil crisis and the 1974-1975 depression. This tough economic policy, which brought substantial victories to the American ruling class vis-à-vis its Italian, French, and British competitors, has had some other results as well. The very success of the American monopolists has deepened the social crises in these countries.

On the U.S. side, in order to attain the capitalists' economic goals, the Nixon offensive meant reversing the few social concessions of the 1960s. Their administrators probed to see what levels of unemployment they could get away with. To their amazement they pushed it to 10 percent with no big kickback. They probed to see what kinds of cutbacks they could engineer, to see how big an increase in military spending they could push through. They have been successful beyond their fondest hopes. Such progress on the domestic front allowed them to step up the attack on their business rivals abroad.

The two competitive devaluations of the dollar plus the use of food produced by the giant American agribusiness monopolies as an economic, political, and social weapon have yielded some surprising results in the world trade offensive.

The *Economist* of London ran an important article in its April 17, 1976, issue summarizing one of the key results of this offensive: "In terms of the floating dollar, America's wage costs plus fringe benefits are no longer much higher than those of workers in northern Europe. Sometimes they are lower: in mid-1975 hourly labour costs for employing an American shipworker were \$7.06, against \$8.07 for a Swede and \$7.46 for a German."

The same trends are noticeable in steel and auto. Of course, this shift should not be exaggerated. The wage gap between the United States and its rivals has certainly not been eliminated. But what seemed only a dream to the American rulers a decade ago is within reach. In several major industries, wage levels may well be lower in the U.S. than in some European countries.

The same *Economist* article explained another disadvantage facing capitalist enterprises based in Europe: "Job security laws and customs in Europe are an even greater grouse. During a slump American companies lay off workers to cut output and reduce wage bills. Most American employees are on contracts that permit a single week's notice. The unions cooperate in picking the men who will be given dismissal slips; those laid off are rehired when demand picks up again; American workers with the longest service customarily get their jobs back first. Such economic Darwinism is an historical curiosity in most European countries."

One column in the *New York Times* had an even more delicate way of explaining the advantage to the bosses of the minimal job security that results from the decades of craven class collaborationism of the American labor bureaucracy. He wrote that any "labor-cost disparity may be wholly or partially offset by the flexibility that management typically has in the United States to adapt output and employment to changing demand conditions. Abroad, these prerogatives are often severely restrained by statute, by labor agreements or by tradition."

These are some of the reasons for the tremendous success of the American employers' national and international economic offensive that began in 1970 and accelerated during the oil crisis and the world recession. It is all based on the fact that the bosses were able to carry through their drive against the real wages, working conditions, and standard of living of the American working class with minimal resistance.

Among the consequences of this "successful" drive has been the relative weakening of Japan. It has also weakened the capitalist governments in the semicolonial world. There is not a single really stable semicolonial regime anywhere; the dictatorships sit on social powder kegs. Capitalist Europe itself has become more vulnerable, especially in the south. The hope is that Germany will continue to play a strong and stabilizing role. But even that bastion cannot hold out indefinitely. The crucial dilemma is clear. The very "successes" of high-powered American economic competition undermine capitalism elsewhere.

To a growing extent the struggle is not simply between Europe and America but between the strong imperialist powers and the weak, in which the very successes of the strong further undermine the weak and thus threaten the entire system. This in turn exacerbates relations within the North Atlantic alliance, that bloc of imperialist competitors aligned against the Soviet Union and against the world working class. Every single problem that was supposed to be solved by Kissinger's "Year of Europe"—that was 1973—has been exacerbated. Perhaps 1977 will be the Year of Europe—but in an opposite sense to what Kissinger had in mind.

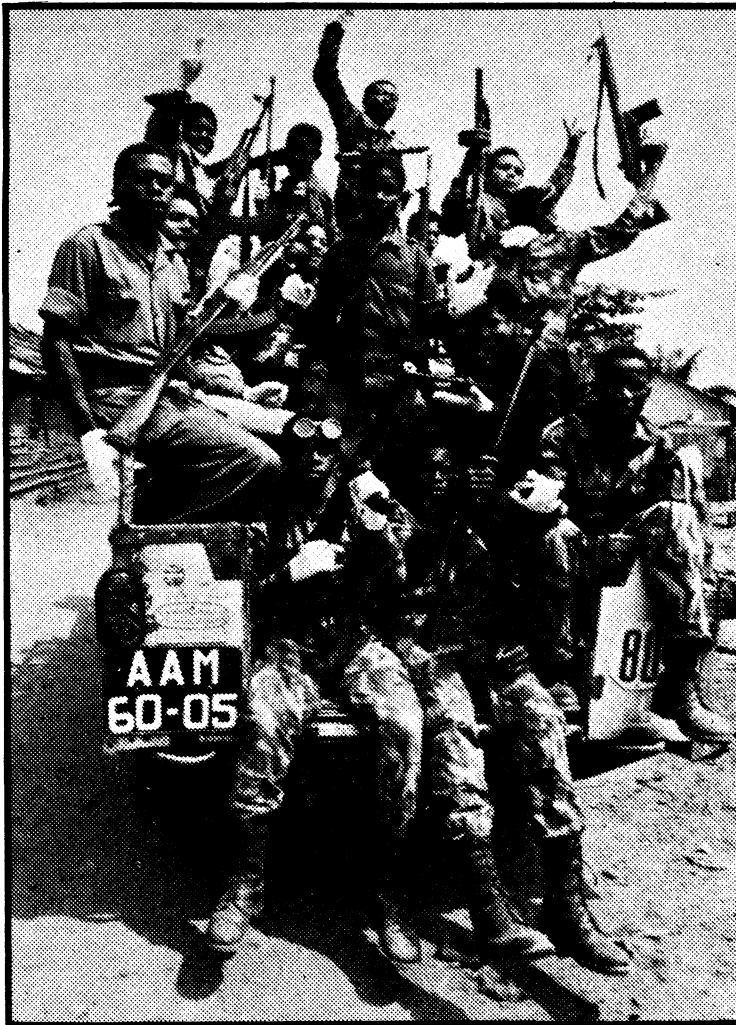
The basic conflict among the Atlantic allies is over who pays for depression and who pays for increasing competition. The notion that there would be a single Common Market evolving toward a single European entity in which the strong would help the weak, in which unemployment would be spread around, has become a will-o'-the-wisp. Far from any capitalist United States of Europe, the strong are increasingly adamant about their refusal to help the weak—except insofar as it is in their interests. The German imperialists look at Italy in about the same way as Washington looks at New York City.

The second big problem facing the imperialist bourgeoisies, pressed by these worsening economic and social conditions, is military. How to organize—or reorganize—the policing of the world? How to get someone else to pay a bigger share of the arms cost? How to get gendarmes? How to make it possible for American imperialism to start intervening again with troops? If not with their own troops to begin with, then with troops from some other imperialist or satellite country. How to strengthen NATO? How to increase war budgets in France, in Italy, in Britain, when the masses are demanding just the opposite?

The third big headache is the role of the United States itself. What sort of political help can the U.S. rulers give?

It is useful to recall what American imperialism was able to do a few decades ago. The Truman administration openly and crudely intervened with the navy, the CIA, the threat of troops, massive amounts of secret subsidies, campaign speeches by the American ambassador and his military attachés, to put the governments and parties they wanted in office in Greece, Italy, and Japan. The relationship of class forces on a world scale made it possible for the American ruling class to proceed in this manner.

But who can imagine the occupant of the White House going on television today to announce that in order to help the Christian Democrats in Italy he plans to send the Seventh Fleet into Italian waters, to threaten to land marines if the



MPLA troops in Luanda, Angola

Communists win, while he is covertly aiding the Christian Democrats in a holy crusade against communism? Such a course would sound like a pipe dream either in the U.S. or in Italy. Yet that is precisely what Washington got away with in Italy in 1947-48.

Today, in fact, the probability is that every time Kissinger or Ford or Alexander Haig gives a speech about how they "cannot accept" the CP in any Italian government, the Communist party wins thousands more votes.

The moral standing of the American rulers has dropped to bottom level. After Vietnam, after Watergate, after Lockheed, after all the events of the last decade and a half, the pretenses of American democracy, of America as the anticolonialist power, of America as the moral beacon, have been destroyed. There is little confidence in the reality of American "ideals," or Washington's grand designs. The peoples of Europe know that the American government's ideal of a stable, successful ally is Brazil or Iran. They know how the U.S. ruling class approaches the difficulties of a New York City—cutbacks, layoffs, squeezes on the working people.

The American press has not indicated the full effect on the domestic politics of Italy and Japan of the partial exposures of the role of the CIA and American corporations since World War II. These developments go beyond the simple internationalization of Watergate. They betoken the end of an era when ruling bourgeois parties in major imperialist countries could be created, financed, and kept in power by the American ruling class and its worldwide network of spies, industrialists, bankers, and hoodlums. That is coming to an inglorious close.

Kissinger and European Stalinism

This is the new context in which the question of Communist party participation in the governments of Italy, France, Spain, and elsewhere arises. In a period of growing social crisis, of economic pressure, of working-class radicalization, the masses of Western Europe are attracted to the Communist and Socialist parties.

At root, this is not a complicated or unprecedented matter. They want jobs and stable prices, a decent and rising standard of living. They want expanded rights, not new restrictions. They want an end to the terrible uncertainty that hangs over their lives under capitalism. They want an end to militarism and to the increasing threat of nuclear war. They want the right to choose their own government, not have it thrust upon them by the American ruling class and financed by the CIA. They want an end to exploitation, to racism, to xenophobia, to sexism, to national oppression, to corruption in high

'In Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and throughout sub-Saharan Africa, new impetus has been given to the struggle for national and social liberation.'

places. In addition to a radicalization of the working class and the labor movement as a whole, the women, the oppressed nationalities, the foreign workers who have been incorporated in large numbers into the economies of the advanced countries of Europe, the youth who will have to fight the wars if they come, the students who want a decent education—all these radicalizing forces assert themselves. Quite simply, they want socialism as the alternative to capitalism. This is the heart of the question.

In this framework the Communist parties in countries like France and Italy face a basic problem. They are in competition with the Socialist parties (and to some degree with forces further to the left—centrist and revolutionary organizations) for the adherence of the very same workers. The key question for them is how to attract these workers, how to hold their allegiance, how to grow, how to increase their voting strength.

The CPs claim to represent the legacy of the Russian revolution. They claim to be more militant in industrial struggles. They claim a special relationship with the "bastion of world peace," the Soviet Union. But all that is no longer enough. They also have to clean themselves up a bit from the filth of Stalinism.

This is no longer the 1930s, 1940s, or 1950s, when millions of working people in France and Italy believed that anything negative said about the Soviet Union was probably a lie being spread by bourgeois secret police, capitalist agents, etc. Those naïve days are gone forever. The Stalinists have to refurbish their image. They must not only be associated with the Soviet Union, they must simultaneously *not* be identified with the most notorious policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy. They have to counter public knowledge that dissenting workers and intellectuals in the USSR are sent to insane asylums, that there is no freedom of the press, no freedom of assembly, no right to emigrate, no right to strike, no right to self-determination for oppressed nationalities, no liberation for women, and that "socialism with a human face" will be obliterated by Soviet tanks. They can't carry that albatross around their necks and still win the mass of workers away from the SP in advanced capitalist countries.

Thus the Stalinists have to lay claim to their own "national road to socialism," proclaiming a "union of the left" in France or a "historical compromise" in Italy. In reality, these are in no way roads to socialism, national or otherwise, and there is nothing new or innovative about them. They are simply old vinegar in new bottles, a catchy proposal for winning mass support for the CPs' long-established aim of sharing responsibility for governing Italy and France as



CP rally in Verona, Italy

capitalist states, as they did immediately after the war.

But this is not obvious to the millions who vote for the CP. What they want and what the Stalinist bureaucrats want are two different things.

Impact on SPs and Eastern Europe

This process has an impact on the Social Democratic parties in these countries too. This was certainly true in Portugal for a certain period after 1974. It is true today in Spain, where the Socialist party is trying to make up for lost ground. It may well be true in other places in the future.

In countries like Spain, formerly underground Socialist parties that have a very limited number of cadres can rapidly develop left wings. This doesn't mean that such SPs are capable of charting a revolutionary course any more than the CPs can. It doesn't mean that the current leaderships of the SPs are reformable. But this SP-CP competition, in a period of growing upsurge and class radicalization, can lead to some surprising developments and openings for revolutionists in these countries, especially the weaker ones, as occurred in Portugal. And the ability of revolutionists to make the appropriate turn in light of this will be very important.

Over time the more critical stance of the big Western European CPs toward Moscow also has significant effects in Eastern Europe on the prospects for political revolution there.

Dissenting workers and intellectuals in Eastern Europe or in the USSR hear that the leaderships of the big Communist parties in the West are making criticisms, demanding that the Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch be allowed to emigrate, denouncing the use of insane asylums as concentration camps. This raises an obvious question. Why should a French CP leader attending a CPSU congress in Moscow have more right to free speech than a citizen of the "land of socialism"?

As was confirmed in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, even interbureaucratic debate and dissensions begin to open doors and to unintentionally encourage politicalization and independent mobilization.

Specter of CPs in Governments

The American ruling class is genuinely concerned about the prospects of governmental coalitions in Europe that include CP ministers. Kissinger expounded his views on this at length before a meeting of American ambassadors in Europe last December.

"One thing is clear," he said, "the dominance of Communist parties in the West is unacceptable. This has nothing to do with the reasonableness of these parties or with the degree of their independence with Russia."

We must remember, he went on, that "the primary appeal of Communists to the electorate has to do with their position on social and

economic problems that bother the people of the country."

The result, as Kissinger outlined in an April 13 statement, is that "this, in turn, is going to produce governments in which the degree of cooperation that has become characteristic of Atlantic relations will become increasingly difficult, in which their own internal priorities are going to be away from concern with defense, which will produce new opportunities for outside pressure and a move toward a more neutralist conception of foreign policy."

Kissinger emphasized what he considered to be the three great problems involved in sharing governmental power in Western Europe with Communist parties. Problem one is that "Communist parties have Leninist, or authoritarian organizations." That is for the record. Authoritarianism doesn't bother Washington, as can be seen in the cases of the Chilean and Iranian regimes.

Number two, "they would inevitably decrease their countries' spending on defense against the Soviet bloc." And three, "they would conduct policies quite different from the pro-Western ones now practiced."

In this difficult situation, Kissinger has stated, "truculence toward the Soviets, with everyone beating his chest, would create a situation in which opinion leaders and youth would say that we are needlessly jeopardizing peace. This would start the kind of debate that paralyzed us in the Vietnam War."

From the point of view of the class he serves, Kissinger sized things up fairly well. The masses are attracted to the CPs and the SPs because they want socialism, not because they want "Communists" or "Socialists" to manage austerity programs for the capitalist class. Secondly, electoral successes by the CP and by the SP raise the expectations of the masses too much, embolden the workers, the women, the youth, the immigrant workers, the oppressed nationalities. This encourages them to press forward and can even impel them well to the left of the CPs and SPs they put in government. The last thing these sectors of the population have in mind is electing a CP or SP government just to have it spend more money to buy more missiles.

Kissinger speaks the truth when he says it is not a question of the reasonableness of a given CP. He knows that the ruling classes can make arrangements with a Berlinguer, with a Marchais, with a Cunhal, regardless of what they say or don't say about the worst excesses of the Soviet bureaucracy. The capitalist rulers know that these men and their colleagues are not proletarian revolutionists, but class collaborationists through and through. That is not the problem. The hooker is that big class forces can unintentionally be set in motion, because the workers believe less in class collaboration than do their misleaders.

From the point of view of the Atlantic Alliance

'Thousands upon thousands of workers are moving toward the Communist and Socialist parties in search of a leadership capable of fighting for their interests and for socialism. They will not find what they want in those parties and will be looking for alternatives. The openings today for building mass revolutionary parties surpass anything we have seen for decades.'

and of NATO, Kissinger sees a weighty difference between the CP and the SP. The SP is much more dependable. The SP leadership, based on the labor aristocracy in its own country, loyally manages the affairs and defends the interests of its own ruling class.

The CP and its leadership is a slightly different kettle of fish. The CP and SP are not differentiated from each other on the basis of program, method, and aim. Both are class collaborationist. If the party labels were removed from the programs of the Italian and French SPs and CPs and the terminology homogenized a bit, no one could tell which belonged to which.

The essential difference between the two kinds of workers parties resides in the relationship of the CPs to the Soviet bureaucracy—regardless of any critical opinions members and heads of a CP may voice. Without their special relationship to Moscow the CPs would erase the partition that separates them from the Social Democracy. It is this special tie of the CPs to the Soviet bureaucracy that presents the capitalists with their vexing problem.

It is quite evident what the American bourgeoisie favors. They want the Christian Democracy in power in Italy, the Gaullists in power in France, the Tories in power in Britain, the Liberal Democrats in power in Japan. But they, and especially their colleagues in Europe, have to answer a very difficult question.

What parties can administer the severe austerity programs that capitalism needs, and keep social peace at the same time? What parties have the best chance of keeping the increasingly radicalized masses accepting wage-freeze policies, stepping up productivity in the factories and offices, and staying off the streets?

This question points to the importance of the CPs in the eyes of the ruling class as the social-political crises deepen.

The Disintegration and Decline of World Stalinism

What are these "Communist" parties? What is the nature and degree of this recent "critical" independence they are exhibiting? Where does it come from? What are these political personages who are going to be sharing cabinet posts sooner or later?

It is worth stepping back and taking a broader look at what has happened in the world Stalinist movement. This will bring forward the question that is being debated by radicals around the world: can the CPs still be considered, characterized, and treated as Stalinist parties? Haven't these parties, which "dogmatic" Trotskyists insist on referring to as *Stalinist*, really become something else? Aren't they well on the road to becoming facsimiles of Social Democratic parties in some countries, and in other, more radicalized countries aren't they now really centrist formations that may even project a revolutionary orientation and be pressured into leading a

struggle for power if the upsurge of the masses and the "far left" is strong enough to make them swing in that direction?

For answers to these questions, one cannot simply look at these parties as they appear today. We have to begin with the Stalinized Comintern, with the theory of "socialism in one country" and its correlative of class collaboration. We have to see the disintegration and weakening of world Stalinism since 1956, caught between the rise of the proletarian revolution in the West and the forces moving toward political revolution in the degenerated or deformed workers states. From this historical point of view the "historic compromise" in Italy, the degree of independence of the CP in France or in Spain, are further steps down a well-established road.

Long before the Comintern was dissolved, Trotsky predicted it could not last. He insisted that the rise and bloody consolidation of the Soviet bureaucracy (a social caste more petty bourgeois in character than proletarian), the establishment of a national socialist outlook as the guiding ideology of this formation, and the direct material, social, and political corruption of the Communist parties around the world spelled the doom of the Comintern.

Trotsky has been proved right. The last congress of the Comintern was the seventh, held in 1935. In 1943, as a little present to Roosevelt, Stalin junked the Comintern. That was a first overt organizational consequence of the logic and practice of national bureaucratic "socialism" on the world arena.

After the Yalta and Tehran period, marking the settlements of World War II, a postwar makeshift replaced the Comintern. In September 1947 an organ entitled *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* announced the birth of the Communist Information Bureau, or Cominform. Its life was much shorter than the Comintern's. It lasted for exactly three meetings.

The last meeting, in late 1949, announced that Tito and all his colleagues, as well as the indigenous Stalinist rulers in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, were assassins, bourgeois spies, Zionists, and infiltrated by Trotskyists. Moscow-type trials swept the capitals of Eastern Europe. That was the last act of "proletarian internationalism" performed by the Cominform. It became defunct after that. Its belated death notice was announced to the press in early 1956.

Beginning in mid-1953, and ending in 1956, explosions took place in East Berlin, Poland, and Hungary. This was followed by the first "world gathering" of Communist parties. The Stalinized Comintern couldn't last through the second imperialist war, and the Cominform survived for three meetings. The subsequent "world gatherings" of Communist parties were convened only twice. The first meeting was in 1957. There Khrushchev publicly confirmed the revelations on Stalin's despotism, adding even more to what he had said a year earlier at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

The second world gathering of Communist parties came in 1960. At that meeting the Chinese attacked the Yugoslavs. The Soviets attacked the Albanians. Both were surrogates for the real targets aimed at by Moscow and Peking. And yet, as at all previous meetings of the Stalinized Comintern and Cominform, a set of unanimous documents was adopted by all present. That facade of unity was the last time all the CPs got together. It marked the further disintegration and growing vulnerability of world Stalinism.

Subsequent semblances of "world gatherings" degenerated into invitations to attend Soviet CP congresses as honored guests. The Twenty-first Congress in 1959 was followed by the Twenty-second in 1961, which featured sharp open attacks on the Chinese CP. In 1967, 1971, and at the just-concluded Twenty-fifth Congress of 1976, each has witnessed a further evolution of the "polycentrism" of the national socialism of the bureaucracies, accentuating the weakness of world Stalinism as such. So the unfolding class struggle and the results of Stalinism have taken their toll.

From Comintern, to Cominform, to fraternal gatherings of world Communist parties, to invitations to the congresses of the CPSU. Such have been the milestones in the disintegration of that world force headquartered in Moscow pretending to fight for the workers and their

allies.

What do Stalinists Hold in Common?

If all this is true, doesn't that tend to support the argument that there are few genuine *Stalinist* parties around anymore? Haven't some of them evolved basically into Social Democratized parties and some into centrist parties—or at least aren't they rapidly evolving along these lines?

To answer this question it is necessary to determine: Is there something essential that every one of these parties, regardless of its professed independence from or criticism of the Soviet CP, holds in common? The answer is yes, and that is what still defines them as Stalinist organizations.

Let us first consider those who look to the Soviet Union rather than to China, since they compose a larger and much more important bloc. But the same basic features hold good for the pro-Peking parties as well.

The first principle that these parties stand on is that the degenerated Soviet Union remains their model for socialism. They reject workers democracy. They reject the Marxist and Leninist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat with its immensely democratic forms. This dismissal is not just a matter of terminology or electoral cosmetics; it concerns the heart of the revolutionary-socialist program. Every single one

'After Vietnam, after Watergate, after Lockheed, after all the events of the last decade and a half, the pretenses of American democracy, of America as the anticolonialist power, of America as the moral beacon have been destroyed.'

of the Stalinist parties rejects the most democratic of regimes yet developed, which Lenin and Trotsky stood for and fought for. This is the democratic rule of the workers themselves, in and through council-type organizations. Their model for a socialist regime remains the bureaucratized Soviet Union—perhaps cleaned up and reformed a little, without insane asylums used as political prisons, etc. But no socialist democracy.

They all maintain that in the fundamental historical struggle between the opposing programs and objectives of Stalin and Trotsky, Stalin was correct. Stalin may have made errors. He was murderous, crude, paranoid, etc., etc. But at that turning point in the 1920s when the future of the Soviet Union and world communism had to be decided, Stalin was correct as against Trotsky, and the defeat of the Left Opposition was necessary for the building of "socialism."

Second, all the Stalinist parties accept the Soviet bureaucracy's thesis that, in view of the extended character of this epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, the *sine qua non* of the march toward socialism is détente, peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition with capitalism. Above all, what is necessary is *time* for the Soviet Union to demonstrate what a socialist economy can achieve and to gain more and more authority in the world. This, and not the international socialist revolution, is the paramount goal. The class struggle the world over must be subordinated to these goals.

What are the "theoretical" underpinnings of these general Stalinist positions?

One, they accept the theory of socialism in one country. They believe it is possible and imperative to establish socialism in a single country. To be sure, it would be very nice if all other countries could enjoy the advantages that are to be seen in countries like the Soviet Union or China.

But, pending that far-off event, it is possible to establish socialism in one country if the workers sacrifice enough, if the workers' leaders are flexible enough, if the advanced workers abroad have a high enough level of class consciousness. Without exception, this theory—or rather, rationalization—of socialism in one country is

accepted in principle and in practice.

Second, peaceful coexistence and popular frontism are accepted by every Stalinist party. National and international class collaboration is a fundamental guideline. They see no violation of Marxist principles or working-class interests in such a line.

Third, without exception, every Stalinist party accepts the "two-stage theory" of the development of the class struggle. They may not call it that any more; they talk less and less about the second stage. But that is what it amounts to. Next on our century's agenda is the "antimonopoly coalition," "advanced democracy," "people's power"—or whatever the code word may be in any particular country for the Stalinists' goal of a class-collaborationist capitalist regime that is friendly to the Soviet Union. That is considered to be the indispensable next stage, without exception. Someday, somehow, it will be followed by the second stage, "socialism," like in the Soviet Union.

Fourth—and this is important for differentiating Stalinists from the Social Democracy—they all claim to trace their roots back to the October 1917 revolution in Russia. They try to justify their policies in Leninist language or Marxist theory. While the Social Democrats as a rule tend to justify what they do in the name of Western or parliamentary democracy, the Stalinists disguise their twists and turns in the name of "socialism" and "Marxism."

This results in gross perversion of the language of Leninism. The dictatorship of the proletariat, instead of signifying the democratic class rule of the overwhelming majority of the people, the toilers, turns into its opposite: the brutal totalitarianism of a small minority, a bureaucratic caste. Proletarian internationalism becomes the subordination of the working class of every country to the diplomatic needs of Brezhnev and friends.

Finally, there are two organizational principles that all Stalinist parties hold in common. One is explicit, the other not.

First, the emergency measure taken by the Tenth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in March 1921 to temporarily prohibit factional activities is viewed as a permanent injunction rigorously enforced to this day. This includes those parties such as the Italian CP that claim to be the most democratic internally. Of course, the inevitable result is permanent secret factionalism, rampant cliquism, and continuous internecine warfare. The rest of the world and the party learns who the winners and losers are only when the fight is over and the winners "explain" what the losers really were—capitalist roaders, Trotskyites, agents of foreign powers, revisionists, or whatever.

Second, every Stalinist party, regardless of what its leaders say about the bad old days under Stalin, has a leader cult, to one degree or another. These parties have to have a bureaucratic arbiter, some final authority to adjudicate conflicts within their own leaderships and in their relations with the Soviet bureaucracy. That is precisely one of the roles Gus Hall plays, like a caricature, in the American Communist party. That is the role played by Marchais in the French CP, and Berlinguer in the Italian. Whoever replaces them if they are dumped will fulfill the same role.

The Contradictions of Stalinism

But the efforts of the Halls, Brezhnevs, Marchais, and Berlinguers to clean up the image of the CPs can't overcome the contradictions of a decaying Stalinism. These continue to unfold inexorably.

In the postcapitalist countries there is, first of all, the contradiction between the nationalized means of production and bureaucratic planning by the government, which produces disproportions and dislocations owing to unfulfilled production goals, agricultural crises, waste, etc. There can be no basic solution to those deepgoing problems other than the democratic control of economic planning by the workers themselves through their own councils.

A second contradiction is created by the very success of a planned economy, which brings a higher standard of living for the great mass of people and a rising cultural and political level. Their ability and desire to democratically govern themselves comes into growing conflict with the



Representatives of other CPs observe as Brezhnev addresses 25th Congress of CPSU

'From Comintern, to Cominform, to gatherings of world Communist parties, to invitations to attend the congresses of the CPSU—such have been the milestones in the disintegration of that world force headquartered in Moscow pretending to fight for the workers and their allies.'

unbridled domination of the bureaucratic caste and its material privileges.

Third, each Stalinist party in power has its own material base and narrow interests, and in the struggle to maintain its own privileges it must inevitably come into conflict with the bureaucratic castes of other countries. Once the guideline of national socialism—socialism in one country—is adopted, and once there exists a voracious social caste that draws its tribute and privileges from the monopolization of power in one workers state, by its very nature this caste must come into conflict with comparable castes elsewhere.

This makes intelligible the Tito break, the Sino-Soviet dispute, the conflicts between the USSR and the Eastern European states. Far from being inexplicable accidents, they were inevitable. Such breaks are a fundamental feature of world Stalinism and must lead to its weakening and disintegration as a world force.

The fourth contradiction is that the sum of class-collaborationist policies in the world, under whatever guise, cannot control or stop the class struggle for any length of time. It continues to surge beyond the grasp of every bureaucrat, dictator, or dedicated class-collaborationist.

Finally, another contradiction continues to trouble the Stalinist bureaucracies. This is the false claim that they represent the Russian revolution, that they are the continuators of the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Their refusal to explicitly disown the teachings of the great founders of scientific socialism, their insistence on rationalizing each twist and turn of their endeavors with some bowdlerized quotation from Marx or Lenin, continually generates interest in genuine Marxism and Leninism. The challenge to go back to or live up to Lenin or Marx is one of the ideological spurs to the coming political revolution.

Meanwhile, twentieth-century history keeps pointing a silent finger toward the one name that *can't* be invoked by the Stalinists—that of Trotsky. Regardless of how much a Communist party scrubs its surface, or with what bright new image it adorns itself, there is one thing it cannot do. It cannot genuinely rehabilitate Trotsky and the full range of his ideas.

The rehabilitation of Trotsky would not simply mean the rehabilitation of a dead Marxist, but the rehabilitation of living Marxism. And that is a mortal menace to Stalinism in any of its variants.

What Stalinism is Not

With this clarification of the characteristics of Stalinism it is easier to evaluate some of the misconceptions concerning it. Many erroneous ideas are circulated in the "new left" as people try to grapple with changing events and shifting alignments, the actions of the French and Italian CPs, the threats by the American rulers, etc.

1. Stalinism is not synonymous with its origin in the rule of the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy in the late 1920s and 1930s, a period of great defeats in the international class struggle. The basis of Stalinism is determined by the needs and

interests of a caste, not by the conditions that gave rise to such a social formation.

2. Stalinism does not simply refer to that period when the subordination of Communist parties to the Kremlin was complete and total, when no one could demur at Stalin's decisions no matter how brutal or irrational they might be.

3. Stalinism is not simply a term designating the kind of police-state apparatus that existed during the worst period of the Moscow trials and purges.

4. The phenomenon of Stalinism is not restricted to the period of extreme economic poverty in the Soviet Union. That poverty was crucial to its origins but not to its maintenance.

5. The criticisms of the Italian and French leaders do not represent a qualitative turn, but the continuation of a process bound up with the weakening of world Stalinism. They represent an attempt by parties that remain Stalinist to the core to attract radicalizing workers and to compete more effectively with the Social Democracy as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, interested in maintaining the status quo.

6. We have seen no transformations of Communist parties into either Social Democratic or centrist parties. Short of a deepgoing split with Moscow (or Peking), both of these roads are blocked off. To move too far in either of these directions would mean the disintegration of a Stalinist party.

If the Soviet Union had gone back to capitalism, the character and evolution of the Communist parties would have been different. Trotsky often presented the stakes in the evolution of the first workers state as: forward to socialism or back to capitalism. That remains an unresolved question on the world-historical scale. But for nearly five decades history has developed along another variant. The USSR neither decisively went forward to socialism nor back to capitalism. The counterrevolution took the form of bureaucratic degeneration or deformations, and that has determined the character of Stalinist parties.

If the Social Democracy did not exist, that would open another option for the evolution of Stalinist parties. If the Social Democracy had been transformed into pure and simple bourgeois outfits, into parties with no base in the labor movement, that would change a great deal. If the Social Democratic parties had evolved into formations like the Tories or the Republican or Democratic parties, instead of petty bourgeois or bourgeois currents within the framework of the labor movement, it is possible that there would be room for the Stalinist parties to evolve and fill the political space now held by the Social Democracy.

But neither of these "ifs" materialized. And that demarcates the limits within which the vacillations and maneuvers of the Stalinist parties take place.

This likewise gives the Fourth International tremendous openings on a world scale within and around both the Stalinist and Social Democratic milieus as the capitalist crisis deepens. Thousands upon thousands of workers are moving toward these parties in search of a

leadership capable of fighting for their interests and for socialism. They will not find what they want in those parties and will be looking for alternatives. The openings before revolutionary socialists for constructing mass revolutionary parties surpass anything we have seen for decades.

Effects at Home

The growing interdependence between the United States and the rest of the world means that the consequences of American foreign policy have effects here at home. The turmoil, the uncertainty, the instability, are felt more and more acutely.

There is discomfort over the fact that every time our capitalist "friends" abroad get in trouble, the solution imposed or favored by the U.S. government seems to be a new military dictatorship, a new regime of sadistic torturers.

There is a growing feeling that the era is well over in which Lockheed, other big business concerns, the liberal Democrats, the CIA, and gangsters can agree among themselves on how to rule the capitalist world and how to divide up the booty. There is a new realization that the crimes committed on this level involved more than a few individuals or greedy corporations. Such crimes are part and parcel of the evolution of a rapacious, brutal, declining class. It isn't just that they murdered Martin Luther King and Malcolm X or that John Kennedy used Mafia hit men and pimps. The entire ruling class has used Mafia hit and bag men on an international scale for decades. It's all part of business as usual.

This deep alienation, disaffection, disenchantment, cynicism is very much evidenced in the elections this year. As many of the bourgeois commentators have noted, the primaries are inspiring some of the lowest voter turnouts of the century. Candidates are "winning" some primaries with the votes of only 3 percent of the electorate. Only a tiny percentage of registered Black voters are bothering to vote, and registration is declining.

In some of these articles on the alienation of voters, the professors quote C. Wright Mills, who once noted that the great mass of people "lose their will for rationally considered decision and action because they do not possess the instruments for such decision and action; they lose their sense of political belonging because they do not belong; they lose their political will because they see no way to realize it."

To put that in class terms, as long as there is no party, no perspective, and no leadership of their own, the working class and oppressed nationalities do not involve themselves enthusiastically and in large numbers in any kind of political action. Here they show an elementary insight beyond the political acumen of their misleaders. A person who does not go to the polls to choose between Ford and Reagan, or Carter and Humphrey, shows greater wisdom than the bureaucrat or misleader who urges them to do so.

On this level, the great handicap of the working class and all the oppressed is the conscious misleadership of those who chart a

systematic policy of class collaboration, not class struggle, on every front.

But just as the Stalinist bureaucracy cannot stop the class struggle on a world scale, the class collaborationist misleaders of American labor cannot hold back the struggles that are on the agenda in this country. They cannot halt the advancing social forces that are potentially the most powerful on the face of the earth.

The crisis of the rulers forces them to try to unload their problems on their allies and competitors abroad as well as the masses at home. But, unlike the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, they will not be able to do so with resounding success. On the contrary, the attempt to export their difficulties only serves to deepen crises abroad and further destabilize social and political class peace at home.

Perspectives of a Doomed Class

The American rulers rely in the final analysis on the policy of force and violence. They have no other historical strategy. Theirs is not the inspiring vision of reconstructing the economy along the lines of scientific planning, which could end poverty on a world scale. They have exhausted most of their moral authority and have little political standing left in the eyes of the world's population.

Thus their economic, social, and political policies boil down to the employment of force and violence—threatened or actual. Their foreign policy is militaristic. Open war if they can get away with it; covert war if they consider it necessary. Trade and financial policies are

complementary to Washington's war policy. Saber-rattling is a hallmark of their diplomacy.

A new administration cannot and will not change the substance of this foreign policy. Their whole existence as a class is at stake. They are making a historical stand—like the Southern slaveholders—and know they are making such a stand.

Kissinger himself in a recent speech formulated the historical outlook of the American rulers quite aptly: our country may soon "become an isolated fortress island in a hostile and turbulent global sea, awaiting the ultimate confrontation with the only response we will not have denied ourselves—massive retaliation." That is a suicidal prospect.

Unfortunately, the doomed class that is on the way out threatens to take us all down with them. That is what Kissinger's massive retaliation is all about. They cannot and will not reverse the policy of massive arms budgets—the policy of direct, indirect, open, hidden, overt, covert military might—because ultimately they have no other recourse.

For revolutionary socialists, the most important factor is the one Kissinger fears above all else, "the divisions at home," the opposition to war, to military adventures that are bred by American capitalism's drive for world domination. Preventing them from lashing out, and eventually disarming them—that is the task of the American workers. And it literally involves the survival of humanity.

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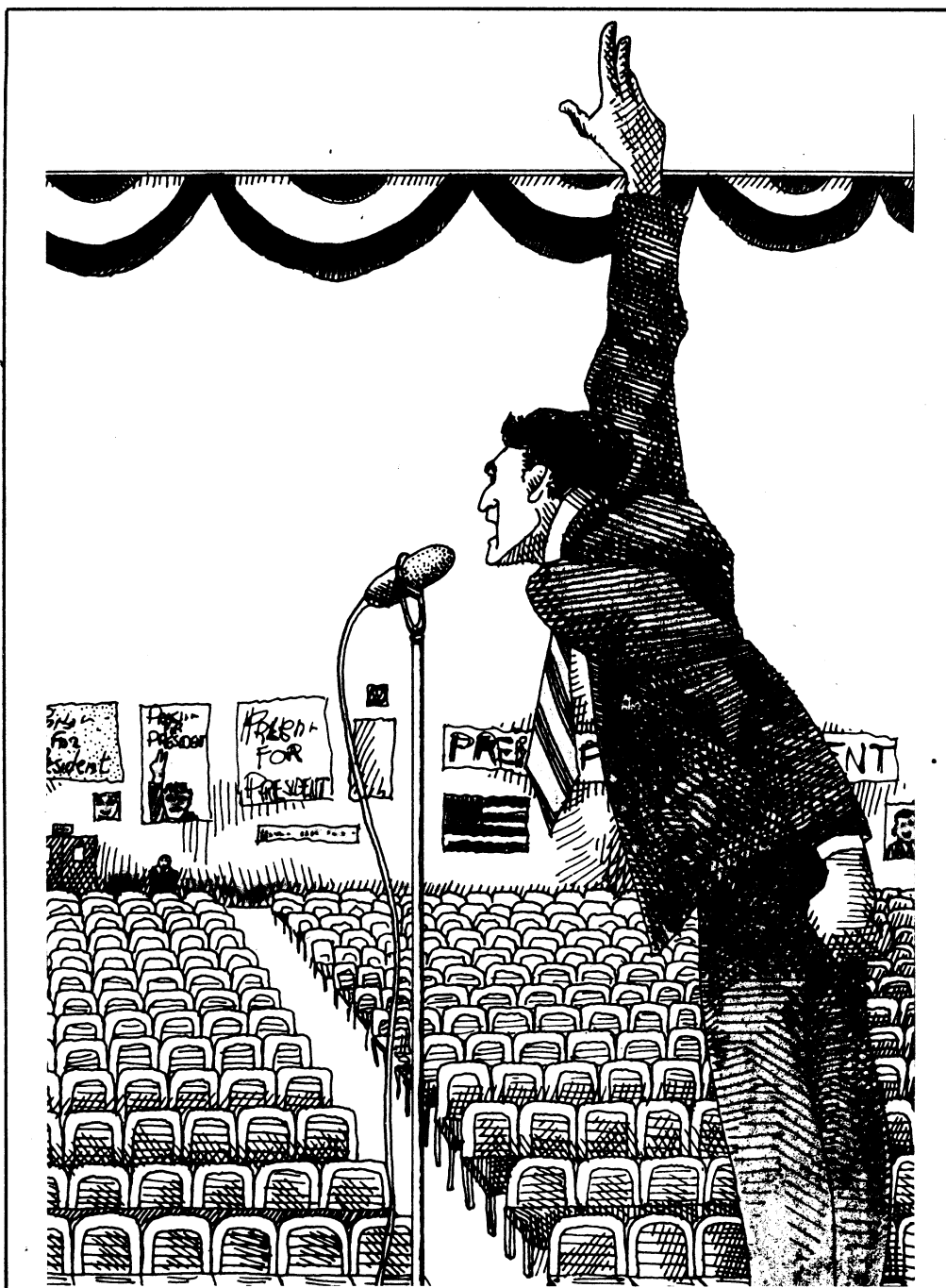
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Growing Mood: Powerlessness, Alienation

'What representation of the people? They [the politicians] don't even know who the people are.' This is the verdict of growing numbers of people about American capitalist democracy, 200 years after its foundation.



Political Alienation In Contemporary America

By Robert S. Gilmour and Robert B. Lamb. St. Martin's Press, New York, 975. 198 pp.

By Nan Bailey

Listen to these voices.

"They're the biggest bunch of no good bums God ever let live! Isn't one of 'em since Kennedy 'at was good 'nough to run for dog catcher. Look at that Nixon! There isn't a bigger crook any where! an' the rest of 'em's just about as bad; just give 'em the chance. Who was that other fella? I must of voted for him; always do; always vote for the one that ain't had his chance to steal yet. Might as well give 'em all a chance to steal my money. Why, I'm givin' welfare to the politicians!"

"... I ain't got nothin'. Ain' nobody up there in Wash'ton cares 'bout folks like me or my chil'ren. I use' ta think they was gonna do somethin', but no more. Now all they want is ta tell us what to do. An' they ain' nothin' we can do."

"What representation of the people? They don't even know who the people are. The Democrats and Republicans are just the same. They only represent one thing: Number One, and maybe a crony or two."

"Why, who picks those politicians; we don't. We just choose one of the ones *they* pick. I don't see

Nan Bailey is the national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance and is also an associate editor of the International Socialist Review.

no difference between 'em. Half of 'em's crooked, an' the other half oughta be in jail."

These are the words of alienated Americans—just a few of the growing number who no longer trust or believe in the politicians who run this country. These people express the state of mind of millions of other Americans toward the political system of capitalist democracy as it stands 200 years after its foundation in 1776.

These attitudes are a notable feature of this presidential election year.

James Reston wrote from California in a recent column in the *New York Times*: "...there is a feeling of dissatisfaction out here in the end. None of the candidates have swept the country.

"...Over two-thirds of the eligible voters in the primary states didn't bother to go to the polls, and you run into these drop-outs wherever you go. . . .

"In no election since the last World War, have the party, labor, business, or intellectual leaders seemed so uncertain about the voters as they do this year."

While the number of qualified voters is greater today than ever, alienation and apathy are also at a higher level than ever before in our history. A recent Louis Harris poll rated alienation with the political system at 50 percent.

What are the reasons for this?

Professors Robert S. Gilmour and Robert B. Lamb set out to find the answer in interviews and discussions with a broad cross section of Americans. A selection of these interviews has been compiled in their informative book, *Political Alienation in Contemporary America*.

Their study concludes that disillusionment with the political system permeates all levels of American society.

They define this alienation as "the combination of several distinct feelings: distrust of government and politicians, a sense of the meaninglessness of electoral politics and political choices, and personal powerlessness to influence or change the course of American political life."

They conclude that at least 23 percent of Americans are extremely alienated. Twenty-five percent distrust the federal government. Fifty-two percent see the political process and electoral politics as meaningless. And 28 percent feel powerless to do anything about it. These percentages reflect the views of millions of Americans.

"These are the Americans," say Gilmour and Lamb, "who are convinced of the essential meaninglessness of votes, candidates parties, and elections. They conceive of themselves as the victims of powerful forces in politics that are beyond understanding and control.

"The American involvement in the Vietnam war, the increasing invasions of bureaucracy at all levels into our private lives, the political intrigues, trickery, and outright criminality of the nation's highest officials—all these have pushed many people to the very edge of allegiance to the political system they once cherished," they say.

Many were "pushed to the edge of allegiance" by other political events of the last several years.

There's Ralph White, for example. Ralph is a truck driver. In 1968 he voted for George Wallace and called student protesters "weirdos." But with the so-called fuel shortage in 1973, Ralph found himself participating in a "truck-in," blocking the Ohio Turnpike to protest fuel prices. He no longer has faith in the government to solve his economic problem.

Others became alienated after Lyndon Johnson failed to bring about real equality of Blacks and reneged on other "Great Society" promises.

And, of course, many others were radicalized by the Vietnam War, Watergate, and the steady decline in their standard of living. They saw the politicians and government do nothing to solve these problems. In many cases, they saw the politicians and the government as the cause of the problems.

Blacks Most Alienated

Who are the alienated Americans?

In the first place, as could be expected, they're Black Americans. Blacks were the most alienated sector of the population in 1972 (the final year of the Gilmour-Lamb study).

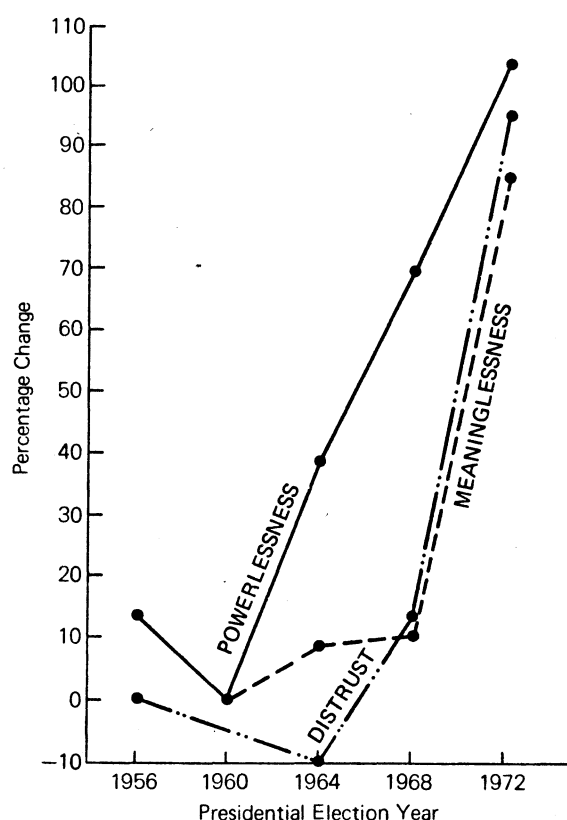
Gilmour and Lamb found that the overwhelming majority of Blacks feel political impotence, political powerlessness, and distrust. Many share the sentiments of Larry, from Bunche Park,

Florida:

"You kiddin' me, man? Black people don' have no power in government. Those politicians don' do nothin' for me. Nothin'! Don' nobody doesn' have a million dollars gets any help, man, even if they's white. . . . You think votin' in a black man in a city that's mostly black—that's black power? Man, that dude's gonna do what the white man say an' what they give him money to do."

According to Gilmour and Lamb, no less than 90 percent of Black Americans are "estranged" from the political system—that is, they feel a combination of extreme alienation and disillusionment. All but 8 percent of Blacks indicated a lack of support for the government and its leadership. Half said they would support an independent Black political party, while almost 25 percent more said they would support such a party under the right circumstances.

Percentage Change in American Feelings of Political Distrust, Powerlessness, and Meaninglessness, 1956-1972



High among the alienated Americans are working people.

"Julio, a lower Broadway short-order cook shook his head when we asked how he voted in 1972: 'My vote makes no difference. They're all the same; none of 'em any good.'

"In Springfield, Massachusetts, Shirley, a chambermaid for a large motel, says, 'No, it doesn't make any difference which party wins; I'll just go on working same as always.'"

The researchers found that 19.6 percent of clerical workers, 28.6 percent of private household workers, 33.3 percent of farm managers and laborers, 33.6 percent of industrial operatives, and 40.0 percent of service workers interviewed don't believe in government honesty, the importance of national elections, or their own relevance to the way the government is run.

Take Ward Beloit, who works five to six days a week at a steel mill in Gary, Indiana. "Ward has always been a Democrat and it's his experience that 'we seem to have had better times when the Democrats are in office.'

"But Ward's faith in national office holders has been deeply shaken: 'They really don't care what I think. It's what they think is best for us that concerns them, and they're always looking out for themselves first. There's a lot of things coming out today that make you think you just can't trust them. Seems like the big businessmen can just walk in and make their price. Politicians just aren't being honest with the public. They seem to be for the minority groups, I mean the big businessmen and the big capital men. They forget the average consumer, the small guy, the men that really make this country work. Shoot, I paid more taxes this year than Nixon has in the last five.'"

Position of Women

Near the top of the list of alienated Americans are women. Gilmour and Lamb found that women are much more likely to express extreme

alienation than men. Women were nearly twice as likely to express extreme alienation in the 1972 election year.

"Many women we interviewed relate their estrangement from government to 'the position of women in society,'" Gilmour and Lamb report. "This is especially true of those who have been educated beyond high school. Harriet, for example, holds a masters degree in educational psychology but had to disown her advanced standing in order to land a job as a secretary-clerk. She watches helplessly while less-trained men treat her as an office functionary and push by her both in pay and advancement.

"This is all part of the system in this country," she says, 'all the way to the very top, with Nixon telling women reporters what to wear at press conferences. How can I respect or believe in a system that treats women like this, like flunkies or slaves?'"

What about older people?

In 1972, extreme alienation was the response of nearly 30 percent of Americans over sixty-five. Most of them were caught in the squeeze between frozen Social Security benefits and double-digit inflation.

Jack Budeau, a retired logger from Vermont, is in this bind: "This inflation's raisin' hell with me. I can't afford to pay no \$1.75 to \$1.95 a pound for meat. Now that propane gas is up every other month. That fuel business. . . and now, what, they gonna jump our electricity 22 to 23 percent.

"When my wife was alive, why I'd get her everything she wanted that I could afford. She used to watch those TV games in there, an' she had two electric lights goin', then she had the electric fry pan. . . . I use one bulb at a time, an' I gotta pay \$15 to \$16 a month.'

"Asked what's causing all this, Jack snaps, 'Politics for one thing!'. . . But as he sees it, 'Those big outfits, those big corporations, they figure they've gotta have more profits, so's they can pay more dividends to their stockholders. And the poor devils, they can't afford to have no stock in anythin' but the cemetery.'"

Americans over sixty-five were found to be the most alienated category by age. This was consistently the case over the ten years 1962-1972. In 1972, Americans between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four were the second most alienated category by age.

Gilmour and Lamb pay little attention to this category of Americans—a group that includes much of the student population. This is unfortunate.

Students and young people have played an important role in expressing the growing alienation within the population as a whole in the past and there is every reason to believe that they will continue to play such a role. Students were the backbone of the antiwar and civil rights movements. Today they are among the most active in voicing protest against the cuts in education funding, which are only one part of the broader cuts in social services as a whole.

For more than a decade they have played an important role as a catalyst for social change giving voice to an alienation that is broader than their own ranks.

A look at alienation among students and young people could have broadened the scope of this study and given a fuller picture of alienation in America.

Vote Against the Incumbent

Gilmour and Lamb explain that non-involvement or withdrawal from political participation is not identical with noninterest in political issues on a national or even on a local scale. They point to Willy O'Reilly, a janitor in an elementary school in northern New Jersey. Willy O'Reilly doesn't like his work and he doesn't get paid much for doing it.

"He has no faith in the party system; he's distrustful in the extreme; and he knows full well that 'they don't give a damn what the workin' man thinks.' Willy doesn't really care who wins an election, presidential or otherwise. As long as he gets a chance to vote against the incumbent, he has accomplished his political mission. . . . As for following national affairs: 'I don't even read the papers anymore, and those jerks on TV make me wanna throw up. It's always the same, ya steal enough and y're a "statesman."'"

Although about a fourth of Americans are

apathetic about the outcome of elections and other workings of the political process, at least half of these people are willing to get involved in some campaign or political activity that promises to be meaningful and beneficial and can make some changes in the political system as it is now constituted and run.

The findings of Gilmour and Lamb substantiate some of the theses advanced in *Prospects for Socialism in America*, the resolution adopted at the August 1975 convention of the Socialist Workers party.*

The document emphasizes that:

"The 'credibility gap' that began with Vietnam and escalated to unprecedented proportions with Watergate represents in reality a crisis of political confidence in the government, the

*Copies of this resolution, which was printed in the November 1975 *International Socialist Review*, are available for twenty-five cents from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. It is also to be found in the book *Prospects for Socialism in America* published by Pathfinder Press.

beginning of a crisis of legitimacy. For the first time since the 1930s tens of millions of American working people not only disbelieve what the rulers tell them but question the goals and values of the ruling class. . . .

"They are beginning to sense that the economic problems they face are much greater than before, that the prolonged period of relative prosperity has definitely come to an end; and while the period now opening may have its ups, the ups won't be high or lasting and the downs will be really deep and long. . . .

"Combinations of breakdowns and shortages, slumps and inflation, speedup and degradation of labor, new wars—that is what American capitalism promises for the future."

And that is what Judith Weissman, Willy O'Reilly, Jack Budeau, Ward Beloit, and the others interviewed in this book are finding out and complaining about.

Prospects for Socialism in America provides a framework in which the attitudes of alienated Americans documented by Professors Gilmour and Lamb can be put into perspective. It shows

the way forward for those who are disillusioned and outraged at this country's corrupt political system.

It explains how an alternative to this system can be built and the potential power of the victims of this system who may feel powerless today.

The resolution provides a perspective for working people, Blacks, women, and others to build a movement that can remove the handful of corporate billionaires, big businessmen, and misleaders who run this country.

The widespread distrust and bitterness exposed by Lamb and Gilmour mark a step forward in the consciousness of millions of Americans in understanding what the capitalist government is and in whose interests it is run. What is needed now is to channel these attitudes into positive political action that can bring about an alternative to this system—one that benefits the interests of the majority who live and work in this country.

Spotlight on the Red Squads

Break-ins, murder raids, racist frame-ups, beatings of radicals, the use of informers—these methods are the stock-in-trade of police red squads. They work hand in glove with the CIA and FBI, taking care of dirty work, but their role has been largely ignored by Congress and the media.

The following is an edited version of the talk by Frank Donner at an April 28 meeting sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. The meeting of 300, held at the New York City Society for Ethical Culture, heard numerous civil libertarians and political figures speak out against government secrecy and surveillance of those who dissent. The Political Rights Defense Fund is a nonpartisan organization that is publicizing and raising funds for the wide-ranging suit by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and harassment.

By Frank Donner

A previous speaker mentioned the complicity of the New York red squad in burglaries of the Socialist Workers party offices, and I thought it might be illuminating to tell you something about the New York City red squad and similar units all over the country.

The red squads came into their own in this country in the 1960s, with the burgeoning of antiwar protest and ghetto unrest. Relatively dormant up to that time, these units got a new lease on life. Their membership grew, and by 1970 there were ninety on the staff of what was called BOSS, the Bureau of Special Services. (It since has gotten another name, but that one will do.) There were ninety on the staff and fifty-five more under cover.

The role of the red squad is well described in the Senate testimony by a police inspector. He says how "police now have become watchdogs and observers of vocal subversive and revolutionary-minded people. . . . They cover all meetings, rallies, lectures, marches, sit-ins, lay-downs, fasts, vigils, or any other type of demonstration that has ominous overtones. . . .

"These officers know by sight the hard-core men and women who lead and inspire demonstrations. They know their associates, family

ties, techniques, and affiliations with organizations leaning toward Communism, both on and off the attorney general's list. They see them day in and day out, recruiting, planning, carrying signs, and verbally assaulting the principles of democracy.

"Yes, the police role has become one of . . . surveillance, taking photographs, identifying participants, and making records of the events. On this basis, local police are able to piece together this jigsaw puzzle and see the widespread activity of the hard-core demonstrators and instigators."

This was presented to the Senate in the late 1960s. But it doesn't altogether describe what the red squad became in this city.

For example, in 1968 two red squad men came to the building where we are meeting now, the Ethical Culture Society. They demanded a list of the members of the society because they were suspected of being subversives.

The red squad became the operational arm, so to speak, of the constellation of intelligence agencies that is called the "intelligence community." And the police—especially the members of these countersubversive units—became highly politicized. They saw themselves as the frontline

protectors of civilization against the threat of subversion.

They also organized into area groups called the Law Enforcement Intelligence Units. Here is the way one officer described his area group:

"We meet twice a year, exchange information, and are brought up to date on problems in surrounding areas. We get to know one another personally, which is very important in the sensitive type of work you are in when you are dealing with criminal or subversive intelligence.

"We have the United States and Canada broken up into four zones. Our last zone meeting was in Toronto, Canada, where we met with the Canadian intelligence people."

This account illustrates something that has happened since the 1960s which is irreversible. That is, the growth of a nationwide chain of these so-called red squads or countersubversive units.

As you probably know, the CIA, which is barred by statute from interfering with or involving itself in domestic "internal security" intelligence, conducted seminars for the red squads in September 1972. These seminars were on a subject called "data handling."

"We decided we needed training in the analysis of large amounts of information," the New York City red squad chief said, "and that the CIA was well equipped for such training, which was done gratis, only costing us about \$2,500 in transportation and lodging."

In this way they learned improved "filing" techniques. The intelligence field is, as you know, simply seething with euphemisms. One of the milder euphemisms is "data handling," meaning compiling files and dossiers.

As a result of initiatives begun in the 1960s, red squads began to function in coordination with the federal intelligence community. That is, they did things that either the feds were barred from doing, or that would embarrass them.

One of their accomplishments, for example, was to help the Nixon administration to monitor and harass left-wing lawyers by organizing raids on their law offices. In 1970 and 1971 alone, there were some fifteen law offices that were broken into on behalf of the federal antisubversive operation but carried out by local operatives. This functional cooperation is something that is irreversible.

We also see it very clearly in the Fred Hampton case, in which the Federal Bureau of Investigation tried to get first the Chicago red squad, and then the Cook County attorney's office, to organize a raid on the Panthers. They succeeded



FRANK DONNER

Lou Howort

*Frank Donner, a longtime civil liberties attorney, is director of the American Civil Liberties Union Project on Political Surveillance and general counsel for the United Electrical Workers union. He is the author of *The Un-Americans* and has devoted years of study to government use of informers and other methods against the left.*

in persuading the Cook County office to do it.

What we are faced with today is a growing integration between the local operation and the federal operation. This is something that is very serious and will not go away despite the current investigations.

As a matter of fact, it's useful to think about this intelligence operation a little bit like hibernation. When the weather gets bad the bear goes into the cave and waits for a change in climate. And that's what is happening now. There is going to be a certain reduction in the federal presence, and while that happens the red squads and other units will go on doing what they did before, holding the fort, so to speak, against "subversion."

Now let me talk a little about BOSS. BOSS has a long and smelly genealogy. It started out as an operation to counter the Black Hand, an Italian-American society of the turn of the century. It got its birth certificate, so to speak, from a man named Robert Pinkerton, who was the son of Allen Pinkerton, organizer of the great private detective agency and the one who broke the Molly McGuire. Robert Pinkerton drew up the basic outline of action for all of these local units.

Through the years BOSS has functioned on behalf of employers and generally to restrain dissent. One of the techniques used is the deep penetration agent. That is, infiltrators who are placed in left groups for periods of five to fifteen years. Mildred Blauvelt, for example, infiltrated the Communist party for nine years; Margaret Disco for fifteen years. And she was honored for her work by being made chief of the policewomen's bureau.

The New York operation prides itself on its professionalism. Its character, however, is very vague. It says its purpose, its mission—that's another intelligence word that must be savored—is "to assure the development, effective use, and interchange of information on the activities of syndicated or organized crime, persons involved therein, or other major criminals, and/or groups whose purpose is the disruption of governmental activities or the peace and harmony of the community."

The official biographer of the red squad, a man named Anthony Bouza, says, "The nebulousness of the directive is vaguely reminiscent of the injunction to Peter in Matthew 17: 18-19, when Christ said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.'"

"And the elaborate and impressive edifice of the Roman Catholic Church," says Bouza, "rests on this base." In other words, he was comparing the growth of the New York City red squad to the growth of the Catholic church.

During the 1960s this outfit made an average of 1,000 annual major investigations and 600 lesser investigations. Let me call to your mind some of the outstanding work that the BOSS did.

First, they conducted a frame-up trial in the Harlem riot case in 1964, based on the testimony of a detective who had been recruited from the Pinkertons. Then they harassed various groups that engaged in antiwar protest. They were responsible for beating up two professors, Jonah Raskin and Robert Riley. As I said before, in 1968 they visited the Ethical Culture Society. They conducted sweeps of all suspected targets in the same way.

Their most notorious achievement was the five cases involving Blacks that began in 1964 with the "Statue of Liberty case" and ended in 1971 with the Panther 21 case. In every one of these cases, the jury refused to accept the prosecution's evidence. The decision to prosecute was unquestionably influenced by the glut of expendable agents, the fearsome rhetoric of the subjects, and the hopes of exploiting fears of Black unrest.

The racist quality of the prosecution was not lost on Black policemen. The Guardians Association, an organization composed of nearly all the city's Black policemen, issued a release in June 1971 denouncing BOSS's exploitation of Black agents for the betrayal of Black radicals and insisted that there were other, less offensive methods of surveillance.

Sgt. Howard Sheffey, president of the Guardians, said, "I am advising my men to inform people that they are assigned to inform on that 'I am a police officer assigned to inform on you.'"

This somewhat curbed the readiness of the BOSS to recruit agents to betray their fellows.

I want to conclude by making one observation. There has been a widespread attack on the methods and stated goals of these units in a number of cities throughout the country—Baltimore, Houston, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Cleveland. But for reasons that I can't fathom, BOSS seems to lead a charmed life.

It seems to me that we have to turn on BOSS the same kind of searchlight, the same kind of investigative scrutiny, that other units have been subjected to all over the country.

LETTERS

Editors: I am writing you concerning the May issue of the *International Socialist Review*. In the article "Chicano Nationalism and Socialism" you state, "The UFW . . . arose as an expression of the Chicano movement." The statement is true—in part.

The UFW was also an expression of solidarity on the part of Filipino brothers and sisters, who in fact were the first workers to go out on strike in 1965.

Filipinos have a long history of striking for better wages and working conditions, dating back to the 1930s.

I object to the fact that you give not one word of credit to people other than Chicanos for founding the UFW. It is an unusual union, in that there are many different ethnic groups involved in it. Hopefully, it is a stronger and better union because of it.

I like the *Militant* for its objective and honest reporting. I hope your next article on or about the UFW has more complete reporting.

Mary Hawley
Madison, Wisconsin

Editors: This letter is directed to the vicious imbecile (and I stress imbecile) who wrote the article entitled "New Palestinian Revolt" in the Month in Review section of the May issue.

While denunciation of the Zionist authorities in their putting down of the recent Palestinian demonstrations is certainly justified, comparing Zionist actions to a pogrom not only reflects the author's unbridled ignorance and stupidity, but is an outright insult to the many Jewish readers of the *Militant* (of which I am one).

There is absolutely no resemblance between the pogroms carried out against Jews in Eastern Europe and the reprehensible tactics used by the Zionists recently. Pogroms were in most cases attacks by the

non-Jewish masses against the Jewish population as a whole and were unprovoked, being instead the result of deep-seated resentment among the masses toward the so-called "alien, devious, crafty Jew."

The recent situation in Palestine bears little if any resemblance to this. Where were the Jewish masses attacking the Arabs? Can one really say in all honesty that Zionist reaction was unprovoked? Was the Zionist reaction based upon a conception of Arabs similar to Gentile attitudes towards Jews in Eastern Europe?

Jeffrey Broude
Claremont, California

In Reply: On March 30, six unarmed Palestinians were shot dead by Israeli troops. One Arab member of the Israeli Knesset (parliament) characterized the March 30 events as a pogrom, as did the May *ISR*.

The pogroms in tsarist Russia were officially orchestrated assaults on the Jewish community designed to terrorize an oppressed people. It never occurred to anyone to deny that the pogroms carried out during World War I and the civil war period were not pogroms because they happened to be perpetrated by soldiers in uniform.

The recent murders of Arab protesters—and in a number of cases Arab bystanders—were intended precisely to terrorize the Palestinian people. The only "provocation" involved was the attempt to protest the confiscation of Arab land. In the eyes of the tsar, Jewish opposition to the established order in Russia was also a provocation. One of the tsar's ministers is reputed to have said after the 1903 Kishinev pogrom, "Stop the revolution and we will stop the pogroms."

Jeffrey Broude asks whether Israeli Jews have similar racist sentiments toward the Palestinians as the Eastern European population had toward the Jews. Yes, they do. For example, here are some of the findings of a Louis Harris poll in the April 12, 1971, issue of *Time* magazine on the attitudes of Israeli Jews:

Fifty-three percent agreed that

"Arabs are lazier than Israelis."

Seventy-four percent felt that "Arabs are less intelligent than Israelis."

Seventy-five percent agreed that "Arabs are more cruel than Israelis."

Eighty percent agreed that "Arabs are not so brave as Israelis."

Two-thirds felt that "Arabs are more dishonest than Israelis."

And 67 percent agreed that "Arabs are inferior to Israelis."

The racist attitudes and brutality of the Israeli troops both on the West Bank and inside pre-1967 Israel during the recent Palestinian protests have been amply documented. We leave it to our readers to decide whether the use of the term pogrom justifies Broude's charge that there is a "vicious imbecile" on the *ISR* staff.

This column is open to all viewpoints on subjects of interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer initials instead.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Brothers Reuther and the Story of the UAW: A Memoir by Victor Reuther. Houghton Mifflin Company, \$16.95.

The Changing Dream: The Truth about the Material and Energy Crisis and What We Must Do to Resolve It by John V. Tunney. Doubleday and Company, Inc., 120 pp. \$5.95.

Communist Parties of Western Europe by Neil McInnes. Oxford University Press, \$16.00.

Economic Calculation and Forms of Property: An Essay on the Transition Between Capitalism and Socialism by Charles Bettelheim. Monthly Review Press, 168 pp. \$11.50.

Film and Revolution by James Roy MacBean. Indiana University Press, 339 pp. \$15.00, paper \$4.95.

Giai Phong! by Tiziano Terzani. St. Martin's Press, 349 pp. \$10.00.

Hungry for Profits: U.S. Food

and Drug Multinationals in Latin America by Robert J. Ledogar. IDOC/North America. \$7.95, paper \$4.95.

The Lin Piao Affair: Power Politics and Military Coup, edited by Michael Y. M. Kau. International Arts and Sciences Press, 591 pp. \$20.00, paper \$8.95.

Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology, edited by Maurice Bloch. Halsted Press, 240 pp. \$16.95.

Marxist Sociology by Tom Bottomore. Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 78 pp. \$7.00, paper \$3.00.

Marx's Capital by Ben Fine. Humanities Press, Inc., paper \$2.50.

The Novel and Revolution by Alan Swingewood. Barnes & Noble Books, 288 pp. \$22.50.

Organized Labor and the Black Worker by Philip S. Foner. Praeger Publishers, 489 pp. \$15.00.

Nine Days That Shook Britain: The 1926 General Strike by Patrick Renshaw. Anchor Press, 360 pp. \$3.95.

Rosa Luxemburg: Selected Political Writings, edited and with an introduction by Robert Looker. Random House, Inc., 309 pp. \$4.95.

Russia and Black Africa Before World War II by Edward T. Wilson. Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., \$26.00.

Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. Basic Books, 340 pp. \$13.95.

What Women Want: The Ideas of the Movement by Gayle Graham Yates. Harvard University Press, 230 pp. \$10.00.

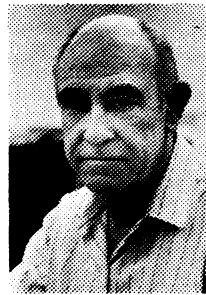
Women in Chinese Society, edited by Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke. Stanford University Press, 315 pp. \$12.50.

Women of Viet Nam by Arlene Eisen Bergman. Peoples Press, 255 pp.

Work and Welfare in Britain and the USA by B. Stein. Halsted Press, 111 pp. \$10.95.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Foundry workers win one

[The following guest column is by James Roman.]

OAKLAND, Calif.—After nine and a half weeks of a bitter strike, more than 1,400 foundry workers who are members of Local 164 of the International Molders' and Allied Workers' Union in the San Francisco Bay Area have returned to work.

The strike involved twenty-nine shops in the Bay Area. The union demanded higher wages, better medical-dental benefits, a union-appointed safety committee, the right to strike over grievances, and improved promotional opportunities for lower-paid Blacks and Chicanos. Although they are the majority of the union, these minority workers are traditionally restricted in the industry to the dirtiest, most unsafe, and most exhausting jobs.

The California Metal Trades Association, one of the largest and strongest employers associations on the West Coast, represented the bosses of 1,200 of the 1,400 striking union members. A previous strike by Local 164 several years ago was broken by the employers. At that time, the workers were forced to return to work in defeat—with essentially no improvement in their contract.

This time around, however, the story was different. The strikers won a good part of their demands—including a wage increase averaging sixty-five cents an hour, improved medical and dental coverage, a jointly appointed safety committee, and an end to the predominance of "merit" in promotions.

The key factor behind the victory was the effort of a rank-and-file strike committee composed of delegates from the various shops. This strike committee effectively organized and carried out the strike despite opposition from international union bureaucrats. Picketing, demonstrations, rallies, and other normal strike activities were arranged by the strike committee. During the earlier strike that had been defeated, these organizational tasks had been left to union bureau-

crats, who did little to carry them out.

Another boost to the strike came from the strong nationalist spirit among the Chicano workers. They were among the most militant and conscious of the strikers. They demanded that contract proposals be printed and reported in Spanish. This helped win the strike.

Early in the strike, union bureaucrats urged striking workers to accept the company's offer. Strike committee members, however, spoke against this in both Spanish and English. The result was an overwhelming vote to support the strike committee and continue the strike.

After their proposal to end the strike was rejected by the rank and file, the union bureaucrats resorted to a whole range of undemocratic measures to isolate the strikers and discredit their strike committee.

The bureaucrats tried, unsuccessfully, to red-bait the strike committee. When this failed, they tried to break down solidarity between the Bay Area strikers and sister locals also on strike in Oregon and Washington.

Finally, the international threatened to place Local 164 into receivership—a move that would eliminate all democratic rights of the membership of the local by placing the entire administration of the strike in the hands of a "trustee" appointed by the international. The Oregon and Washington locals then obeyed instructions from the international to break a long-standing pact requiring a three-state contract. By ratifying separate agreements, they left Local 164 largely isolated.

Facing the prospect of trying to carry on the strike alone, members of Local 164 signed an agreement the next week.

Despite opposition and sabotage by the international bureaucrats, the militancy of the strikers—in particular the Chicano workers—and the efforts of the strike committee were enough to turn what might have been a repetition of the defeat of a few years ago into a partial victory.

Continued from page 10

these victories showed the widespread desire of steelworkers to have their union follow a more democratic and militant policy in defense of their standard of living.

An announcement in the June 2 NCLC newspaper *New Solidarity*, "East Coast Daily" edition, however, tries to give a different picture. It claims that "the word is getting throughout the USWA: 'Ed the Fed' Sadlowski is a cornered rat; now is the time to move on him."

NCLC brags that by distributing 5,000 leaflets in Sadlowski's home District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area, it has "activated and focussed [sic.] the hatred among steelworkers" for the insurgent Sadlowski movement.

This is contradicted by the results of the recent elections, of course.

The NCLC slanders of Sadlowski are obviously aimed at backing Abel's efforts to maintain the grip of his undemocratic machine over the USWA.

P.S.

New York, New York

Harassment of Montréal gays

Over 180 Montréal gays showed up at a meeting organized by the newly formed Comité Homosexuel Anti-Repression.

The turnout was a surprise to most gay activists here since Montréal has a reputation of being one of the most open cities for gays in North America. However, the group has been formed in reaction to increasing pre-Olympic harassment of Montréal gays by the city police.

In the past few weeks more than 100 gays have been arrested, and police have entered bars brandishing rifles.

Despite language differences, which in the past have hindered organizing gays here, the group has since obtained a permit for a demonstration to be held June 19.

In addition, a two-week gay festival will take place that will include picnics, a bicycle rally, and other social activities. All these activities will show the Montréal authorities and their police force that we will not put up with harassment during the Olympics, nor will we hide under the carpets in order to please the tourists. S.R.

Montréal, Québec

Impressed with viewpoints

Please write me down for ten issues of the *Militant* at the new-reader rate.

A friend of mine at work has lent me her copies of your paper for the last several weeks. I'm very impressed with your viewpoints, particularly your coverage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Your writing and photos are also above the average quality for newspapers of your size and readership.

I'm looking forward to getting my own copies as soon as possible. Keep on spreading the good word!

Sharon Stewart

El Monte, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



With popcorn and peanuts

BOSTON—Down in New York's Madison Square Garden by now, the high wire and trapeze have come down and the bunting and flags are going up. Ringling Brothers has moved out, but the circus is coming to town.

Just as spring wouldn't be spring in New York without the annual Ringling Brothers extravaganza, this summer wouldn't be a real summer without New York playing host to the Democratic party national convention.

Think of the New York subways without breakdowns, cabbies who didn't try to do the Bump with you in the middle of the streets, and the Empire State Building without King Kong and Fay Wray having once tried to make whoopee at the top, and you'd have the Big Apple this summer without the Democratic party fandango. A distortion in this Bicentennial year, to say the least.

So they ushered Emmett Kelly out of the Garden to make room for the clowns; they moved out Dumbo to bring in the bimbos.

The head of the platform committee this year was Rhode Island Gov. Philip Noel. Not too long ago he was involved in a fender bender with the school bus, charging that busing was no help anyway because after attending a white school the average Black student is bused back to "that sweathole or wherever he came from with the drunken father and the mother that's out peddling her ass or whatever." (He has since been replaced.)

Black Democrats who will be attending the convention originally said that even though new party rules have made their numbers smaller than they were at the '72 gathering, they were assured input into the party platform to make it speak to Black needs.

And now that Jimmy Carter is assured the nomination, barring death, divine intervention, or a *National*

Enquirer exposé of his swimming in the Wayne Hays stream of staff relations, party bigwigs have been talking up unity to give the GOP a pasting in November.

But just how much unity will be produced in the 104-member Massachusetts delegation, which ranges from Louise Day Hicks and Joseph Timilty to a handful of Black politicians, is anybody's guess. Because down at the Garden, they've trucked out the lions to make way for ROAR.

"I think the mood of the country has changed," South Boston State Rep. Raymond Flynn said, announcing that Boston antibusing bigots will show up at the convention to fight for an antibusing platform.

Flynn says that in Boston and other areas "there is a substantial bloc of votes that could go Democratic or Republican," depending on either party's position on busing.

In 1972 the Democratic convention adopted a plank in favor of school busing. But a peek at the platform draft this time around shows that busing is reduced to a "judicial tool of last resort."

Black Democrats from Boston and elsewhere who will be attending the convention originally said they would be taking their distance from their anti-Black party brethren. Unity or no, they had declared, they would resist any efforts to undermine busing and would fight for a platform relevant to Blacks. But in platform committee tryouts so far, Black delegates have bowed to the wishes of white party leaders when the discussion turned to Black issues.

Come July 12, when the greatest show on earth debuts at the Garden, archivists will, of course, note who was chosen to do the leap-through-the-flaming-hoop act.



Honor thy copyright—The editor of the *Church Herald*, voice of the Reformed Church, urged choir members and other churchgoers to refuse to sing if they are handed photocopied sheet music. He said churches should either buy the hymns or get reprint permission and stop ripping off the copyright owners.

Buycentennial Dep't (I)—Displaying the proper spirit, the Hennessy cognac people are offering a special sellebration bottle. The price? You guessed. \$17.76.

Buycentennial Dep't (II)—Special for 1976, New Mexico State park areas feature garbage cans tastefully decked out in red, white, and blue. And in



downtown El Paso, fire hydrants have been similarly decorated. Which, we understand, really turns on the pooches.

Whoopee!—John Bierworth, the teetotaler ex-head of National Distillers & Chemical Corp., reportedly tried to steer the company more toward chemicals. His successor, D.R. Bell, however, has a no-nonsense view. "Liquor is a great cash generator," he enthused. "There is little or no capital investment and all the profits are cash."

Punder and lightning—Once at a stockholders meeting of the London Gas, Light & Coke Co., an enthusiastic official declared, "If I may be permit-

ted a pun, I would say, 'Honor the Light Brigade.'" A consumer in the audience responded: "Oh, what a charge they made!"

In the outhouse?—According to biographer Doris Kearns, LBJ was miserable after losing the presidency and tried to run his Texas ranch like the White House. "He tried to recreate the Oval Office at the ranch," she said, "and even had morning staff meetings with the field hands."

Int'l law 'n order dep't—Eighteen cops, most of the force in Kronberg, a small West German spa town, were charged with accepting bribes, with an especially brisk traffic with drunk drivers.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



July 4 in Philadelphia

[Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's Eighteenth District.]

I'll be marching in Philadelphia come July 4, not in the official government parade, but in the "Bicentennial without Colonies" demonstration.

As far as I'm concerned, it makes no sense to go celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the thirteen colonies' break from Britain by going to a hypocritical bash organized by the modern version of King George.

A case in point came up just a couple of weeks ago in relation to Puerto Rico. On June 1, news services reported that an economic summit conference of seven of the biggest imperialist countries in the world would probably be held in Puerto Rico.

Questioned about the summit at a news conference that day, Puerto Rican Gov. Rafael Hernández Colón said, "I don't know anything about that."

Just about the same time as Colón was having his news conference, the White House was releasing a statement saying that yes, indeed, the heads of

state of Great Britain, France, Canada, the United States, Japan, Italy, and West Germany would be meeting on the island at the end of June.

The White House reported that the conference would be held at the Dorado Beach hotel, a Rockefeller property. Some cynics said this would be no small windfall for the vice-president, since tourism has been poor, but government officials let it be known that it was being done for reasons of security. The other big hotels are in densely populated areas.

The Puerto Rican chief of police, however, couldn't comment on the matter. He hadn't even been consulted about security arrangements twelve days after the formal announcement.

It's just a little thing, but typical of the attitude of U.S. rulers to Puerto Rico. They consider it *their* island, to do with what they please, with no regard for the wishes of their own flunkies in the Puerto Rican government or the people of Puerto Rico.

And getting back to July 4, that's what made all the British colonists so mad at King George a

couple of hundred years back. He kept imposing things on them. He kept telling them what to do. He acted as if he owned the place.

That's the way Ford and Company treat Puerto Rico—they make the laws, draft Puerto Ricans into the U.S. Army, take much of the island's best soil for military bases, mercilessly exploit the laboring classes, and then treat the Puerto Ricans and their local government with utter contempt.

So in Philadelphia on July 4, there will be two commemorations of the American Revolution. One will be Ford's, and the government's, and they'll wave the flag and tell us how good things are. That's King George's celebration.

The other, initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist party and backed by many other groups, including my party, won't be doing much flag-waving, not the U.S. flag, at any rate. We'll be there to demand a bicentennial without colonies, that the United States allow Puerto Rico to enjoy the same right to independence that the Americans took from Great Britain two hundred years ago. That's our demonstration. See you there.

The American Way of Life

Negative affirmative action

[The following column is by Mel Mason, student activities coordinator and basketball coach at Monterey Peninsula College in California. He is also the adviser of the Black Students Union and one of the organizers of the anticutbacks struggle in that area. In 1968 Mason organized the first Black Workers Caucus in the Bell Telephone System and was a labor organizer for the Black Panther party in 1969.]

SEASIDE, Calif.—The policy statement of the Monterey Peninsula Unified School District (MPUSD) affirmative-action plan reads, "The Board of Education. . . will take affirmative action to ensure that underrepresentation and underutilization of minority ethnic groups will be corrected."

If this is the affirmative-action policy of the board, then a great contradiction is beginning to rear its not-so-glamorous head.

The board is now in the process of terminating at least four school-community assistants, three of them Black and one Filipino. It appears that the

MPUSD is trying to eliminate all of the gains made by minorities in the past ten years.

The board claims the four positions are too much of a strain on the district budget. Yet the board is also falling all over itself to find ways of funding a "Back to the Basics" program.

This program was proposed by a group of reactionary teachers and a handful of hysterical parents who feel that the minority presence in the MPUSD is the primary cause of the decline in academic excellence among white students. Through its emphasis on such things as "strong discipline," "high motivation," and "patriotism," this program is showing itself to be elitist, class biased, and racist.

The School-Community Liaison Program was created in the fall of 1969 at a community-school conference that was held to "determine the unique counseling and guidance needs of minority students."

The school-community assistants have been highly successful in developing communication between minority parents and the schools. They have also been effective by providing minority

students with positive role models (supposedly a goal of an affirmative-action plan). Through their diligence and dedication, the assistants have been able to prevent many students from becoming "dropouts."

Throughout the country we find minority students protesting cutbacks—such as these—that trample their democratic rights and deny them equal education opportunities. It is not hard to see that the antibusing hysteria in Boston and the cutbacks in the MPUSD are both designed to bring about the same result.

Momentum is building in the minority communities to fight back against the MPUSD "budget offensive." Students and teachers are distributing petitions, and community people are beginning to mobilize.

They also realize that this is not an isolated struggle and, as a result, have linked this struggle with the struggles going on in Boston, Louisville, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Pasadena, and many other cities.

This is an alarming occurrence for the racists who run this school district.

Teachers and busing

By Erich Martel

WASHINGTON—The current racist campaign against busing and school desegregation is part of a nationwide assault on public education. Teachers are being laid off, class sizes increased, and special educational programs eliminated or slashed to the bone.

Public school teachers have a vital stake in organizing effectively to fight all aspects of this attack, including the attempt to deny Black and other minority students equal educational opportunities.

This means taking a firm and unequivocal stand in support of busing, which is necessary to ensure the right of Black students to escape substandard, segregated schools.

The clearest example of racist resistance to court-ordered busing today is in Boston. The Democratic party-controlled school committee there consciously

Erich Martel is a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on School Desegregation of the Washington Teachers Union, AFT Local 6.

segregated public schools for decades, while landlords and realtors held up their end of the bargain by enforcing segregated housing patterns.

The struggle of the Boston Black community for desegregated schools has posed a fundamental question to teachers, teachers unions, and all supporters of Black rights: Which side are you on?

The 1.8-million-member National Education Association adopted a resolution in 1975 in full support of busing. The NEA encouraged its members to participate in the October 1975 conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, where defense of the Boston court order was discussed.

American Federation of Teachers

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the 450,000-member American Federation of Teachers. A debate on busing and desegregation inside the AFT began at the union's 1975 convention in Honolulu.

At that convention, several AFT locals proposed resolutions supporting busing and condemning the racist attacks on Black students in Boston and other cities. Arguing against these resolutions, AFT President Albert Shanker said that they were divisive and would pit "one teacher against another teacher."

Backed by the AFT Executive Board, Shanker counterposed a resolution that stated:

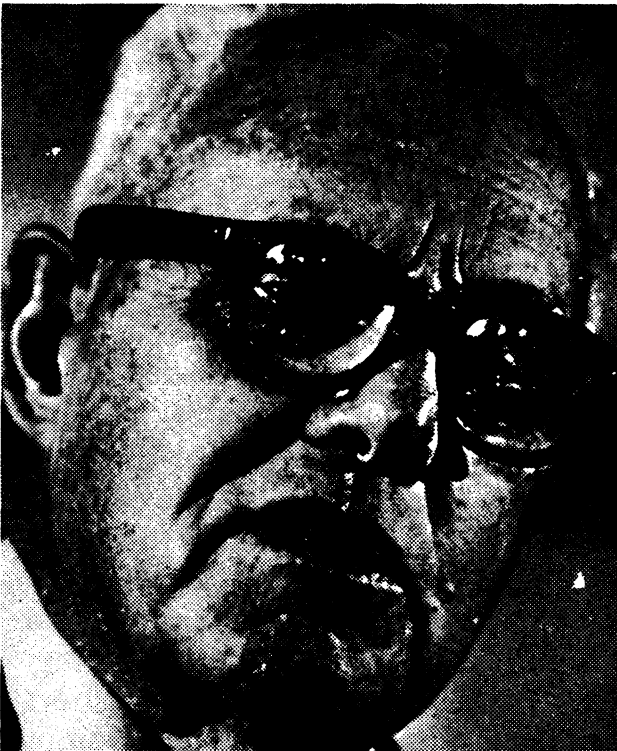
"The AFT condemns the violence taking place in connection with the present school crisis and urges

that all citizens in Boston cease the use of violent means to prevent the enforcement of the federal court order. . . ."

After a long debate, Shanker's resolution passed.

This supposedly "even-handed" resolution made it appear that the violence in Boston was somehow caused equally by Blacks and whites. This took Boston's violent, antibusing movement off the hook.

Shanker's refusal to support the Boston Black community is consistent with his opposition to Black rights on his home turf in New York City. Under his leadership the New York United Federation of Teachers has resisted affirmative-action hiring plans for Black and Puerto Rican teachers.



GEORGE MEANY: AFL-CIO head urges unions and others to accept responsibility to implement court-ordered busing.

Shanker has also spent huge sums of union money to oppose the right of Black and Puerto Rican parents in New York to gain control of their children's education.

Shanker's policy marks a serious retreat for the AFT, which supported the Southern civil rights movement of the 1950s and early 1960s. In 1954 the AFT expelled 8,000 members who refused to desegregate all-white locals in the South.

Shanker's animosity toward busing flows from his efforts to protect the union's white job trust. Federal court desegregation orders have often been accompanied by faculty desegregation orders, sometimes involving affirmative-action hiring. This was the case in Boston, for example.

Boston Teachers Union

The Boston Teachers Union appealed the faculty desegregation order to the United States Supreme Court, but the justices recently refused to hear this appeal, along with three others filed by opponents of the Boston desegregation plan.

The BTU officials also opposed the court-ordered busing plan itself. In taking this stance, the BTU has isolated itself from the Black community. This provided ammunition to some Black leaders last fall who incorrectly opposed the union's strike for a better contract.

If the BTU had been viewed as an ally in the fight for desegregated education, the union could have mobilized broad support for its strike in the Black community.

Meany's position

One embarrassment to Shanker has been the strong probusing stand taken by the AFL-CIO and its president, George Meany. Shanker is a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and normally finds himself in close accord with Meany's positions.

At the 1975 AFL-CIO convention in San Francis-

co, the union federation reaffirmed its support of busing. Last November, when the Massachusetts AFL-CIO passed a resolution backing an antibusing amendment to the U.S. Constitution, Meany blasted that decision. Under threat of having its charter revoked, the Massachusetts unit rescinded its antibusing position.

Last May Meany made his strongest statement to date in a video-taped message to the "Desegregation Without Turmoil Conference" in Washington, D.C.

"The big yellow buses have improved the quality of education for millions," he said, "and there isn't the slightest reason to pretend suddenly that school busing is somehow in itself harmful or undemocratic."

Meany urged "churches, service clubs, civic organizations, civil rights groups and, certainly, the unions" to "accept responsibility for sharing in the planning of school assignments, bus routes and schedules, and all other aspects of a workable desegregation program."

Under the impact of Meany's stand, Shanker has recently made a number of statements to make it appear that he is in line with AFL-CIO policy. In an interview following the AFT Human Rights Committee meeting in Puerto Rico last January, Shanker said:

"The AFT position on busing is this. We view legislative or constitutional attacks on busing as efforts to exacerbate racial tensions and to take political advantage of racial antagonisms, and we oppose any legislative or constitutional restrictions that prohibit busing." (*American Teacher*, February 1976.)

Desegregation Committee

This statement, however, still equivocates on the crucial issue of vigorous federal, state, and local enforcement of the busing plan in Boston.

In December 1975, AFT members and officials who saw the need for their union to come out squarely for busing formed a Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education. The committee was initiated by several state and local AFT officials in California and by the Washington (D.C.) Teachers Union.

The Committee's goal is to place the AFT in the forefront of the struggle for desegregated schools. It is urging passage of a "Resolution on Desegregation and Equality in Education" at the AFT's August 1976 convention in Miami. (See box.)

At this time more than eighty-five state and local officers of AFT affiliates from around the country have endorsed this resolution. It has also been passed by several AFT locals and local executive boards, and by the convention of the California Federation of Teachers.

As in 1975, busing promises to be one of the major issues at the upcoming AFT convention. The desegregation committee plans to publicize its resolution widely at the convention with the aim of winning a majority of delegates to its position.

William Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union and a strong supporter of the committee, made what's at stake in the busing issue very clear in the November 1975 *Washington Teacher*.

"If those who would reverse the decisions which ordered busing should prevail," Simons warned, "this would be but a prelude to the erosion which would follow in other areas. In rapid succession the domino theory would become a reality. One by one each of the recently won civil rights would be under attack. This cannot be permitted to happen."



Militant/Lou Howart

ALBERT SHANKER: AFT president has blocked his union from taking a firm stand in support of busing in Boston.

AFT resolution

The resolution to be presented at the August 1976 AFT convention by the Committee for Desegregation and Equality in Education contains the following five motions:

"1. The AFT affirm its support for busing to achieve desegregated schools and help achieve equal educational opportunity.

"2. The AFT continue to support all efforts for massive federal funding of public education, including remedial and bilingual education programs, as the only means to raise the standard of education and improve the classroom conditions of teachers and students.

"3. The AFT encourage its local affiliates to actively support and participate in efforts to desegregate public schools through busing.

"4. The AFT call for the full intervention of local, state and national authorities when racist elements seek by force to prevent black students from attending desegregated schools.

"5. The AFT publish this resolution in the *American Teacher*."

By Andy Rose

MONTREAL—Across English Canada and Québec, workers are on the march against government wage controls, strikebreaking laws, and social service cutbacks.

Canada is today the leading country in the world in working time lost through strikes. A one-day general strike is under consideration by the top labor federation, the Canadian Labour Congress.

These struggles in defense of workers' rights and living standards have pushed the question of labor political action to the forefront.

In English Canada the working class has already taken the historic step forward of forming its own political party, the New Democratic party. But the labor base of this party is coming more and more into conflict with its procapitalist leadership and program.

In Québec, where the NDP has never sunk roots, a group of union militants is campaigning for formation of an independent labor party. They report the best response ever to this proposal.

Labor in the United States has come under similar sharp attack for the same reason—the worldwide economic crisis and the efforts of the capitalists in every country to boost profits by

LABOR UPSURGE IN CANADA

holding down wages and weakening the unions. But the response of American labor has been pitifully weak.

From New York to San Francisco, the unions have suffered grave setbacks. The key reason is the subservience of the union leadership to the political parties of the bosses—the Democrats and Republicans.

The American union officialdom scoffs at the idea of the labor movement acting on its own in the political arena through an independent labor party. "It can't happen here," is their attitude.

So it's not surprising that these union bureaucrats have little to say about what is happening just north of the border. The experiences of Canadian and Québécois labor not only set an example on the level of militant unionism. They also demonstrate that independent working-class political action is a serious alternative right here in North America.

This series of articles will report some of the highlights of Canadian labor's struggles and debates.

* * *

The workers of Québec have been in the forefront of the labor upsurge.

Québec constitutes an oppressed nation within the borders of the Canadian imperialist state. Its economy is dominated by English Canadian and U.S. capitalists, who profit by maintaining unemployment higher and wages lower in Québec than in the rest of Canada.

Just as the oppression of Blacks in the United States is enforced by systematic discrimination based on skin color, so the Québécois are oppressed by systematic discrimination on the basis of their language, French.

Encompassing more than a quarter of Canada's population, Québec is an oppressed nation with a strategic position in the North American economy, a highly organized working class, and a highly developed class struggle.

The union struggles of the Québécois workers have been combined with a deepgoing nationalist radicalization against their oppression as Québécois to produce one of the most explosive situations on the continent.

In Canada, as in the United States, the ruling-class attack has come down first and hardest on public employees. When the contracts of 250,000 public

Québec unions battle strikebreaking laws



Ottawa, March 22: Québec contingent joins march of 30,000 workers against Trudeau's wage controls

employees in Québec expired a year ago, the provincial government of Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa took a hard line. It stalled for months without putting forward proposals for a new contract.

Assault on public employees

In fact, the government didn't make its first offer until *after* Prime Minister Elliot Trudeau decreed wage controls last October. Then Bourassa put forward an offer within the wage-control guidelines—far below what the workers needed just to catch up with inflation.

Anger at the government's trickery erupted in a series of spontaneous local

mobilizations. These led on November 26 to a march of 35,000 workers in the streets of Montréal against the wage controls—the biggest demonstration yet against Trudeau's antilabor decree.

To defend their mutual interests in the public sector negotiations, the unions established a Common Front of the three labor federations in Québec: the 300,000-member Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec (FTQ—Québec Federation of Labor), the 170,000-member Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN—Confederation of National Trade Unions), and the 80,000-member Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec (CEQ—Québec Teachers Federation).

The FTQ belongs to the Canadian Labour Congress (Canadian equivalent of the AFL-CIO) and includes most workers in industrial, internationally affiliated unions such as auto and steel. But the main base of the Common Front is the teachers of the CEQ and the hospital workers of the CSN.

Origins of Common Front

The origins of the Common Front go back to the 1971-72 contract battle, when a strike of 210,000 public employees was crushed by back-to-work legislation and the top Québécois union leaders were jailed for defying court injunctions.

A step toward working-class unity

MONTREAL—"English-speaking teachers in Québec have traditionally been a bastion of conservatism," Bob Rosell told me. "They identified their interests with the privileged 'English community,' not at all with the labor movement."

Rosell is a member of the representative assembly of the Montreal Teachers Association, a 2,600-member union of English-speaking teachers.

In Québec, the school system is fragmented along both language (English-French) and religious (Catholic-Protestant) lines. These divisions have long been used by the government to pit teachers against each other.

But over the past year, as English teachers suffered the same attacks as their French-speaking counterparts, "reality came crashing in," Rosell said.

"They are beginning to realize

that their interests lie in common with the French-speaking majority of teachers, who are raising identical demands and facing the same enemy, the government."

A turning point was reached on March 26, when the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal called out the riot police against 500 teachers who were picketing the board's offices. Rosell described what happened:

"It was a peaceful demonstration. In fact, people were allowed in and out of the building.

"But the riot police attacked the teachers, threw them down the stairs, and beat them with sticks. Ten teachers were wounded.

"This was a tremendous shock to the teachers. They never expected anything like that could happen to English people in Québec.

"This kind of treatment was

reserved for French workers, for Québécois nationalists."

In response to the police attack the Montreal Teachers Association initiated a mass demonstration in Québec City against the Bourassa government. Eight thousand teachers, parents, and students turned out for this protest April 8.

"It was the first time we were able to rally together the different sectors of teachers in a united mass demonstration," Rosell said.

"There is still a long fight ahead," he concluded, "until the English working class is broken from its identification with the English-speaking ruling class and identifies instead with the people who are in its own class—the Québécois workers—even though they don't speak the same language.

"But this has been an important step in the right direction."—A.R.

As the 1975 negotiations approached it was clear that a stronger unity was needed among the traditionally fragmented and feuding labor federations. Reactivation of the Common Front was an important step in this direction.

The central demands of the Common Front are for a \$165 a week minimum wage, a cost-of-living escalator, and a 43 percent salary increase to compensate for inflation. The government offered only 28 percent, of which 17 percent was a cost-of-living bonus already provided in the previous contract.

The minimum wage demand is a popular focus of support from other workers. It is seen as a step toward boosting wages for all the most-exploited workers in the province.

The Common Front demands have also gone against the cutbacks in the schools and hospitals. Its call for better working conditions, more staff, and more accessible and higher quality education and medical care has won broad support, especially from parents and students.

Demands of women

Two-thirds of the workers in the Common Front are women. As the lowest-paid (three-fourths of them earn less than \$7,000 a year), they stand to gain the most from the minimum-wage demand.

In addition, special demands around the needs of women have been raised for the first time as high priorities of the Common Front unions. They call for equal pay for equal work, free child-care centers at the workplace, and paid maternity leave.

Last February the unions sponsored a week of actions to spotlight the condition of women public-service workers. For the first time, meetings on the problems of women were organized on the job. To draw attention to the need for child care, many women took their children to the schools and hospitals where they work.

Throughout the spring the Common Front organized rallies, marches, and rotating one-day strikes by various groups of public employees.

When the Canadian Labour Congress called for a pan-Canadian demonstration against the wage controls in Ottawa on March 22, 10,000 of the 30,000 workers who turned out came from Québec. On the same day, 120,000 Common Front unionists struck in solidarity. Ten thousand marched in other demonstrations throughout the province.

Call for general strike

As far back as November, union militants had been discussing the need for a general strike of the public employee unions to bring their full power to bear against the government. In CSN locals where a vote was taken, more than 75 percent favored a general strike.

The leadership of the Common Front unions, however, stalled on carrying out this mandate. I talked with Paul Kouri, Montréal organizer of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action, about the strategy of the Common Front.

The LSO/LSA is a revolutionary socialist organization, the Canadian section of the Fourth International. Its members are active in the Common Front unions as well as in other social struggles in Québec.

"The approach of the Common Front leadership," Kouri explained, "was to avoid a centralized confrontation with the government at all costs. They advocated 'disruptive tactics,' such as teachers not handing in grades, workers taking surprise leaves, or showing up late.

"Rather than involving a mass, collective effort, these actions were sporadic and isolated. They even had a negative effect, putting the brunt of the inconvenience on students and parents.

"In the hospitals, these small actions

led to repression and victimizations that were harder to answer than if you had centralized actions."

According to union officials, the 1972 struggle showed that a general strike would provoke back-to-work legislation. But their refusal to organize such a united effort did not appease the government. Just the contrary.

Antistrike laws

In December the government adopted Law 253 on "essential services." In some hospitals as many as 90 percent of the employees were declared "essential" and barred from striking. Thousands of charges have been brought against hospital workers for violating this law.

In April, in an atmosphere of growing crisis, the government adopted Law 23. This antilabor measure prohibited teachers from striking or even discussing the idea of a strike or any other job action.

Law 23 sparked massive civil disobedience. The first day it was in effect, April 13, 145,000 workers struck in defiance of the law. On April 30, from 160,000 to 200,000 walked off the job. This was the biggest strike action yet, involving some public employee unions that are not in the Common Front.

The next day, 20,000 workers and students braved heavy rainfall to take part in a May Day demonstration of labor solidarity.

"For those two weeks," Kouri said, "the government became extremely isolated. Teachers were demonstrating and walking out day after day, almost spontaneously. There was massive sentiment for a general strike. The law became inoperative: there were more strikes after its passage than any time before.

"Even some ruling circles had doubts. They criticized Bourassa for 'going too far,' for being 'provocative.'

"The divisions that had appeared in the English camp, with English teachers walking out together with French, contributed to the isolation of the government.

"There was talk that new elections should be called."

* * *

Our next article will relate the outcome of the Common Front struggle to date. It will also tell how a group of militant unionists is drawing the lessons of this experience and winning a broad hearing on the need for an independent labor party.

Keep Up!

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... with the campaign for a one-day general strike against wage controls

... with the struggle of the Common Front unions in Québec

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Newspaper Guild: how to beat antiunion drive

By Lee Oleson

WASHINGTON—The 1976 convention of the Newspaper Guild meets here June 28 to July 2, as guild members at the *Washington Post* are threatening to bolt from the union.

In a representation election on July 17, the 800 members of the *Post* unit will decide between the guild and the

Lee Oleson is a member of Local 35, Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild. He was a candidate on the 'Unity/Reform' slate for convention delegate.

company-sponsored "Washington Newspaper Union."

The "Washington Newspaper Union" was formed by guild members who did not honor picket lines during the bitterly fought strike at the *Post*, in which the unions were defeated last February.

How best to overcome this decertification threat at the guild's largest unit will be an important question at the upcoming convention.

Some unionists argue for allowing the *Post* unit to form a guild local separate from Local 35, the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild. They say that this concession, which is supported by Guild International President Charles Perlik, is the only way *Post* workers can be persuaded to stay in the union.

While this may be true, allowing a separate local would weaken Local 35 and would provide a dangerous precedent for disintegration of other guild locals at a time when unity against the bosses is needed more than ever before.

Such unity among guild members will not come easily. Many guild activists charge that the leadership of Local 35 has egged on the split between the local and the *Post* unit.

This split has become deeper during the past two months.

During a May election for Local 35's delegates to the international convention, local officials used bureaucratic maneuvers to defeat the "Unity/Reform" slate. This slate included many *Post* activists who favored staying in Local 35, but who criticized the undemocratic methods of its old-line officials.

Only 100 to 150 votes in the entire local separated the winning from the losing delegates. *Post* activists charge that a low turnout in their unit was encouraged by local officials and that this made the difference in the outcome.

Union officials required that *Post* members vote by mail, while all other units voted in-house. And in contrast to previous mail ballots, a stamped envelope was not included with the ballot.

As a result only 150 members at the *Post* voted.

Moreover, Local 35 officials would not allow a representative from the "Unity/Reform" slate to observe the counting of the ballots. Candidates supported by the local officials actually participated in the counting.

Other official actions have also alienated *Post* unionists. Staff officials have encouraged guild members to bring charges against strikebreakers long after the strike was broken last February and after the international declared that any charges would be overturned on appeal.

Continuation of these charges has only undermined efforts to rebuild solidarity among the *Post* guild mem-

bers, badly splintered by the successful company offensive. At the high point of the strike no more than 300 of the 800 *Post* guild members were honoring the picket lines. Members who did not understand the need for solidarity during the strike were only further alienated by ongoing attempts to "punish" the *Post* unit.

The task in building a strong union is to persuade and educate weak unionists, not to threaten and rail against them.

The "militant" pose some Local 35 officials are likely to take at the convention (opposing, for example, the international's decision not to press charges) is really a cover for their own undemocratic behavior and substitution of bureaucratic methods for real leadership.

Further evidence of this is the refusal by local officials to let rank-and-filers observe contract negotiations and their attempts to turn away members from taking part in union activity on the grounds they are too



Militant/Ed Mattos

Newspaper Guild unit split during bitter strike at the 'Washington Post.'

"inexperienced" to understand or participate.

These cliquish-minded local officials have also tried to isolate recently elected Local 35 President Tom Grubisch, a member of the "Unity/Reform" slate, from the decision-making process in the local.

One result of these bureaucratic practices—dangerous for the union as a whole—is that no one other than select members of the local executive board has been kept up to date on the possibility of a strike at the Baltimore Sunpapers. Without wide-based preparation, a strike at those papers could duplicate the disastrous outcome of the *Post* strike.

There are reports that other guild locals may try to use the convention to "stiffen" local officials' ability to punish errant members of their locals. One proposed resolution would allow a local executive board to require a unit to honor a picket line whether the unit votes to or not.

Strong unionism is not created by officials who issue orders and deal out punishments. That is bureaucratic, not militant, unionism.

A strong union has members who are educated in labor solidarity, members who are allowed to participate in the workings of their union, instead of being "persuaded" to follow the leaders through threats, orders, and punishment.

Lesbian mother fights for custody of son

By Linda Regner

ATLANTA—Richard Risher is nine years old. In 1971 he moved in with his mother, Mary Jo, following her divorce from Douglas Risher. Last December, ten members of a Dallas jury changed this.

They awarded custody of Richard to his father. The reason: Mary Jo Risher is a lesbian.

For two years, the mother and son lived quietly and happily in a Dallas suburb with Ann Foreman and her eleven-year-old daughter, Judie Ann. Mary Jo Risher works as a nurse and is a member of the National Organization for Women. Her companion is an assistant auditor in a Dallas bank.

Risher told reporters at the trial, "Our personal life is a private place, and a place that is not to be entered by anybody. I feel like that has been betrayed through this trial."

Judge Oswin Chrisman disagreed. He opened their lives to public scrutiny under a 1974 Texas child custody law that allows a spouse to try to prove that there has been "a substantial change in circumstances." So, homosexuality went on trial in Dallas.

Each prospective juror was asked whether or not he or she was a homosexual, knew any homosexuals, or even knew anything about homosexuals.

Of the jurors selected, ten were men and two were women. Only one juror admitted knowing of homosexual relationships. He was the jury foreman, Tony Liscio, a former member of the Dallas Cowboys football team. Douglas Risher's attorney advised the other jurors to turn to the Bible as a good source of information on homosexuality.

During the trial, two psychologists testified that extensive interviews led them to conclude that it would be better for Richard to stay with his mother.

Friends testified that Mary Jo Risher and Ann Foreman provided a fine home for Richard. Michael Foreman testified on behalf of his former wife's companion. He told the jury that his daughter was growing happily and in a good home.

The court did not permit Richard to testify because of his age.

For more than five hours of deliberations, the jury was deadlocked. Finally, it concluded with a 10-to-2 vote against the mother, citing her "homosexual life-style" as the reason.

Since the trial, the judge has reduced Risher's visitation rights to alternate weekends only.

Risher told reporters after the trial, "The majority of women we know in the gay community are mothers. There's a lot of them out there, and this could be a factor in whether a lot of these mothers will keep their children."

Risher plans to appeal until she gets her son back. This process will begin in the circuit court of appeals this week and could take up to two years and cost \$30,000 to \$35,000. Dallas NOW is helping to raise funds for court costs.

Support activities for Risher are being organized in cities in Texas and elsewhere. For instance, in Atlanta, there will be a June 25 benefit on behalf of Risher as part of the "Christopher Street South" activities. Also, the gay liberation march on June 26 will raise as one of its demands: "Defend lesbian mothers' child custody rights."

Requests for more information and letters of support should be sent to: Friends of Mary Jo Risher, Box 174, Dallas, Texas 75221.



From left: Ann and Judie Ann Foreman, Richard and Mary Jo Risher

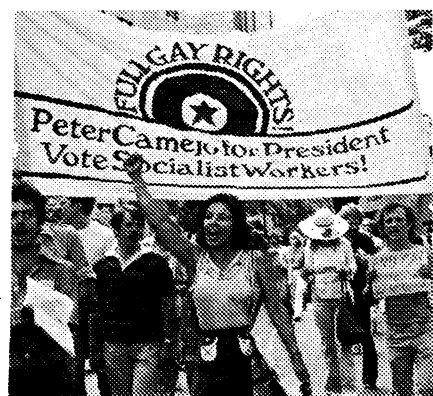
Message to march

[Following are excerpts from a message sent to the June 27 Gay Pride March and Rally in New York from Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.]

We salute the Gay Pride March and Rally and join in demanding repeal of all sodomy laws and passage of gay rights legislation, such as the Abzug bill now before Congress.

Recent attacks on homosexual rights, including the March 29 Supreme Court decision upholding statutes outlawing homosexuality, and the denial to Mary Jo Risher of custody of her nine-year-old son solely because of her sexual orientation, show the need to step up efforts in opposition to reactionary attempts to drive gays back into the closet.

With you we say in this bicentennial year, 200 years without equality is too long! Full civil and human rights for gays!



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Socialists host meeting on Chicano liberation

By Jeff Powers

OAKLAND, Calif.—A weekend educational conference on Chicano liberation and socialism was hosted by the campaign committee for Frobén Lozada here on June 11 and 12. Lozada, who is chairperson of Chicano studies at Merritt College in Oakland, is the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Ninth District.

The opening session heard a panel that included Vicente González, a leader of the Raza Unida party (RUP) in Union City, California; María Vargas of Raza Educators in Berkeley; Ana Nieto Gómez, a teacher of Chicano studies at California State University at Northridge; and Lozada.

Vargas, who teaches in the Berkeley school district, spoke about recent discriminatory firings of Black and Chicano teachers there.

"Unfortunately, neither of the teacher organizations, the Berkeley Federation of Teachers and the Berkeley Teachers Association, is doing anything about it," she reported.

Vargas went on to describe the activities of the Committee Against Racism in Education, an organization of Black and Chicano teachers in Berkeley set up to fight the layoffs. She said there should be no discriminatory layoffs and that "teachers should fight to maintain the current proportion of Black, Chicano, and Asian teachers."

González of the RUP spoke about the need to build an alternative to the present system. He urged the audience to "vote for and work for the Lozada campaign."

"I am going to support Frobén's campaign. I have known Frobén for a long time. Every time there is a picket or some kind of struggle you can bet

that he will be there," González said.

Lozada talked about the need for Chicanos to break from the two-party system. He explained that there is no fundamental difference between the candidates of the Democratic party and the Republican party.

"You noticed in the papers a few days ago," Lozada continued, "that the Democratic party is suddenly unified. They have been fighting for months and now they have come together. Remember how Carter got started? He was the candidate who was going to stop Wallace. Now Wallace is the first one to support Carter. It is a game in which all the American people are the losers."

Nieto Gómez based her talk on the relevancy of women's liberation to the Chicano movement.

"We are told as women that we must

wait for the 'revolution' to gain our equality. We are told that we must hold back our struggle, that we must subordinate our needs to the 'people's' struggle. Well, I am here to say that those ideas are dead wrong. The struggle for women's equality against machismo is an enormously important part of today's Chicano movement," she said.

In response to a question on the Equal Rights Amendment Nieto Gómez said: "I support the ERA 100 percent. We must not be deceived into thinking that this is some kind of a 'white trip.'"

Nieto Gómez also led a discussion on "Nationalism and Feminism," and Miguel Pendás talked about "Chicano Liberation and Socialism." Pendás is a writer for the Southwest Bureau of the *Militant*.

Illinois unionists, SWP hit Hatch Act

By Joel Britton

CHICAGO—Paul Booth and Anita LeFlore, leaders of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees here, have joined with the Socialist Workers party in protesting the federal Hatch Act restrictions that forced Linda Thompson to withdraw as a candidate for governor of Illinois.

The Socialist Workers party announced last February that Thompson would be its gubernatorial candidate. In May, however, Thompson was hired as a case worker for the Illinois Department of Public Aid, coming under provisions of the Hatch Act that prohibited partisan political activity by public employees.

Thompson had applied for the job some months before announcing her intention to run for office.

"When hired," Thompson said, "I was not informed that I was trading away my democratic right to run for office for a chance to get off welfare."

When told by an attorney that seeking the SWP nomination for governor would violate the Hatch Act, Thompson asked that her name not be placed on the party's nominating petitions.

The Hatch Act applies to state employees whose agencies receive financial aid from Washington. Congress recently voted to amend the law to permit off-hours partisan political

activity by government workers, but President Ford vetoed the measure.

In a statement released to the press June 7, Booth, an AFSCME international representative, and LeFlore, a member of the executive board of AFSCME Local 2000, deplored the "undemocratic restrictions governing the political activity of public workers."

"Why," their statement said, "should millions of public workers be denied the constitutionally-guaranteed rights to participate of their own free will in the electoral process?" The unionists said they favored those Hatch Act provisions designed to protect govern-

Continued on page 30

In capitalist party primary

Calif. Stalinists endorse Democrat Hayden

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—If California supporters of the Communist party seemed a bit schizophrenic lately, it's probably not their fault. They've simply been trying to follow the line laid out in two recent editorials in the *People's World*, the party's West Coast weekly.

Commenting on the defeat of liberal candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination, a June 12 editorial declared:

"Church, Harris and Udall will never admit that the Democratic Party bosses had them whipped from the beginning; in days to come they will issue sickening calls for party unity behind the candidates that offer nothing of substance.

"Their supporters should have come away from the experience having learned something quite different: the Democratic Party cannot be fundamentally or even significantly changed from within and no meaningful new directions or resourceful leadership are going to come out of the Democratic Party.

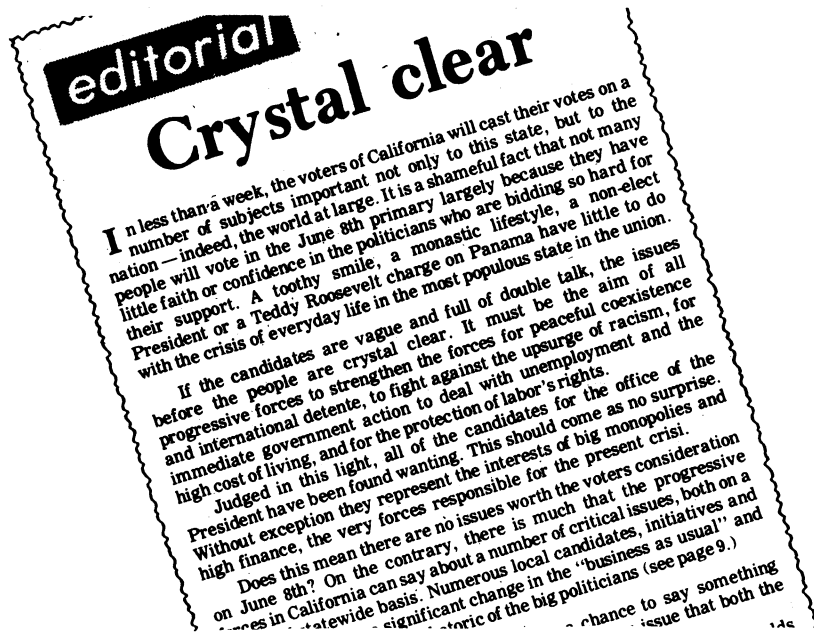
"If they haven't learned this lesson they are doomed to continue this every four year exercise of making the Democratic Party and the 'two party system' look legitimate." (Emphasis added.)

That should make sense to anyone with even an elementary grasp of the real nature of capitalist politics.

But it may have proven confusing to loyal Communist party followers who had just gone to the polls in the June 8 primary armed with an editorial from the previous issue of the *PW*.

Entitled "Crystal Clear," it offered recommendations in support of several worthy ballot propositions and then added:

"There is another such anti-monopoly campaign on the ballot as well. The effective campaign of Tom Hayden has already put pro-monopoly, anti-labor incumbent candidate Senator John Tunney on the defensive. California would make a contribution to the nation by rejecting the old politics of Tunney with the new politics



There is another such anti-monopoly campaign on the ballot as well. The effective campaign of Tom Hayden has already put pro-monopoly, anti-labor incumbent candidate Senator John Tunney on the defensive. California would make a contribution to the nation by rejecting the old politics of Tunney with the new politics of someone effective, humane and articulate like Hayden.

June 5 'Peoples World' editorial endorsed Hayden

of someone effective, humane and articulate like Hayden."

The editorial was remarkable enough for the total absence of any attempt to seriously justify the endorsement. In terms of Marxism—to which for some reason the *PW* editors still profess adherence—it can only be characterized as grotesque.

"New politics." "Effective." "Humane." "Articulate." (!)

They sound like slogans conjured up for some job-hungry aspirant by a second-rate Madison Avenue hack.

Marxists, to the contrary, weigh and examine candidates in terms of political affiliation, program, and class interest represented.

But in recommending Hayden, the CP can't even attempt to justify it even

in relation to the somewhat hollow assertions of political independence in the editorial of a week later.

Liberals running in the Democratic party only make the two-party system "look legitimate," the editorial explains.

Hayden tries to do exactly that. He argues that advocates of social change have "isolated" themselves by not working within the two-party system, which now allegedly offers great prospects for betterment.

"The Democratic Party," the *PW* reminds us, "cannot be fundamentally or even significantly changed from within and no meaningful new directions or resourceful leadership are going to come out of the Democratic Party."

But the CP's endorsee, Tom Hayden, argues precisely that the Democratic party can be changed from within and new directions developed—if people like him can get elected.

"In days to come they [the defeated liberal Democratic presidential contenders] will issue sickening calls for party behind the candidates that offer nothing of substance," the *PW* warned.

Include Tom Hayden. On June 11, three days after the primary, he announced his support for his opponent, incumbent John Tunney.

But despite all this, is it possible that Tom Hayden, one time SDS activist, is really so different that the CP is justified in brushing aside its own arguments in order to endorse him?

Hayden's politics, in fact, are not quite as "new" as the *People's World* would have us believe.

At the very outset of his campaign, *Los Angeles Times* political writer Kenneth Reich interviewed Hayden and reported April 22, 1975, that Hayden was a supporter of California's Gov. Edmund Brown, the "lesser expectation" artist of whom the *People's World* is properly scornful.

Reich added that Hayden "said he considered himself in the tradition of the Democratic party, having voted for Brown, Sen. George McGovern and President Lyndon Johnson in the past."

And on January 5, 1976, *Times* writer George Skelton offered a not unperceptive assessment when he wrote that "a good rule of thumb is to assume that Hayden's position on any major issue will match the most liberal concept already being espoused within the two-party political establishment, usually by an officeholder."

Reporting on the campaign windup, the June 6 *Times* confirmed that Hayden had in fact campaigned in a manner befitting the Democratic party tradition.

The paper reported that "the former radical leader of the 1960s" had waged "a long and steady campaign" to "change his early radical image."

Maybe that's what the totally reformist Communist party likes about him.

Help Camejo-Reid fund top \$15,000 goal

By Andrea Morell, director 1976 campaign committee

Two weeks ago the Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund reached its target of \$10,000—more than three weeks ahead of the June 30 goal. This generous outpouring from campaign supporters was so encouraging that the campaign committee decided to set a new June 30 goal of \$15,000.

The "thermometer" on this page shows that the fund received a big boost toward its new goal this week. Supporters contributed a whopping

Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund

\$1,674, pushing the current total to \$12,206. We now have just a week and a half to raise the remaining \$2,794.

The decision to raise the goal to \$15,000 was made not only because of the inspiring response of campaign supporters to our appeal. The pace of campaign activities—and therefore expenses—made the increase necessary.

The largest category of increased expenses this spring centers on the Socialist Workers party ballot drive. We are aiming to place Camejo and Reid on the ballot in thirty states and the District of Columbia. This is the

most ambitious ballot undertaking in SWP history, and it includes California for the first time.

Because of widespread disillusionment with the Democrats and Republicans, people are increasingly willing to sign petitions to place socialist candidates on the ballot this year. Undemocratic election laws, however, still make these ballot drives very difficult—as well as costly.

For example, the drive to qualify for the Arizona ballot has so far incurred expenses amounting to \$740. Additional petitioning is required in Arizona to meet the requirement of 5,522 signatures.

The Massachusetts effort is one of the toughest. State law requires 37,000 signatures of registered voters and a mountain of paperwork. Considerable assistance to Massachusetts socialists was provided on three weekends by volunteers from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The unanticipated cost of their transportation, underwritten by the fund, exceeded \$400.

The drive to place the socialist presidential ticket on the Virginia ballot for the first time is also getting under way and already has required outlays of several hundred dollars.

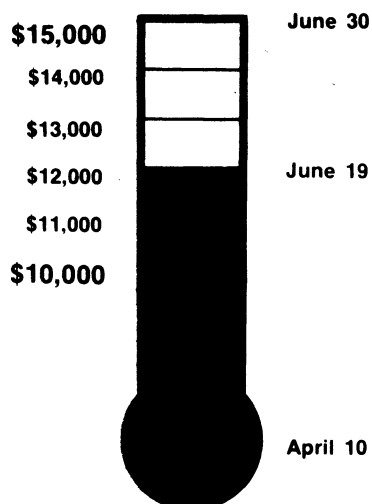
In addition to covering these and other ballot costs, the fund financed Peter Camejo's recent tour in Spain,

where he spoke to more than 4,000 workers and students in Madrid, Valencia, and Barcelona.

The fund will finance Willie Mae Reid's participation in the NAACP national convention in Memphis, Tennessee, June 28-July 2, and allow Reid's supporters to distribute campaign materials to the 3,000 delegates who are expected to attend.

Money from the fund will also make possible distribution of tens of thousands of copies of the party's 1976

On to \$15,000!



platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," in English and Spanish to bicentennial protest demonstrators in Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia on July 4.

Contributions this week came from committees in Berkeley, Brooklyn, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Queens, Seattle, and Washington, D.C., and from eleven supporters who clipped the coupon from this column.

Please join them by contributing to this important fund before June 30. Use the coupon below and make checks payable to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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8,000 La. unionists hit 'right to work' law

By Jane Boudreaux

BATON ROUGE, La.—More than 8,000 labor unionists converged on this capital city on Sunday, June 6, for a militant rally called by Louisiana's AFL-CIO to demand defeat of the so-called right-to-work bill in the current legislative session.

The proposed bill would allow employers with union contracts to hire and retain nonunion workers. The demonstrators were united in their opposition to this antilabor measure that would prohibit union shops.

Big business is backing the proposed antilabor legislation to the hilt. The state's employers organization, the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry (LABI) has already spent one-half million dollars in its attempt to whip up antiunion forces and miseducate Louisiana's population to get the bill passed.

The impact of this right-wing effort was shown June 10, when the Louisiana House passed the "right-to-work" bill and sent it on to the state senate for debate.

Louisiana is currently the only Southern state without a "right-to-work" law. In all other "right-to-work" states, prevailing wages and working conditions are lower.

The biggest problem facing the union movement at this stage of its fight to maintain union shops is public confusion over the issue.

The LABI has tried to foster this confusion by financing a high-powered

advertising campaign. For example, one television commercial shows Black construction workers while a somber voice says, "Everyone should have the right to a job." The message implies that the 25 percent unemployment rate among Louisiana Blacks is caused by labor's insistence on union shops!

At the June 6 rally, Louisiana AFL-CIO President Victor Bussie blasted such misleading LABI tactics. "The unions support everyone's right to a job," Bussie said. "But this bill is not about that—it's a misnomer. Business and industry control all of the hiring now, not trade unions."

Following the June 10 passage of the "right-to-work" law in the house, workers across the state stepped up the drive to defend their unions. In Lake Charles, unionists built a rally of 7,800. Rallies have also been held in New Orleans, Shreveport, Monroe, and Baton Rouge.

Union locals are collecting petitions. The AFL-CIO has bought thirty-second TV spots. And the Coalition of Labor Union Women and A. Philip Randolph Institute are sponsoring a rally in New Orleans.

Regardless of the fate of the "right-to-work" bill in the current legislative session, the fight will go on. The LABI has announced plans for further anti-labor bills, including proposals to lower unemployment and workmen's compensation. And the Louisiana AFL-CIO has made it clear that if workers lose this round, they will fight for repeal.

...Illinois Hatch Act

Continued from page 28

ment employees from coercion by superiors to engage in political activity.

A recent SWP membership meeting chose Suzanne Haig to head up the party's Illinois slate. Haig, who has been active in the abortion rights movement and the Coalition of Labor Union Women, played a leading role in building Chicago participation in the May 16 march and rally for the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield, Illinois.

Haig's supporters have so far collected 20,120 signatures to put her name on the November ballot, along with the SWP presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Undemocratic election laws in Illinois require "new parties" such as the SWP to get 25,000 signatures of registered voters to win a ballot spot.

"I have joined a team of full-time petitioners," said Haig, "who will be on the streets every day talking to voters about the socialist alternative to the Democrats and Republicans."

Haig spoke out against the racist violence that erupted June 6 in the Marquette Park area on Chicago's Southwest Side. A "white power" rally was held outside the offices of the National Socialist White People's party (Nazis) in opposition to a projected march by a Black group against segregated housing and racist attacks against Black families living in previously all-white areas.

When the open housing march didn't take place, the white racists—several hundred strong and carrying "Niggers Beware!" signs—attacked Black and Latino motorists and bus passengers.

Dozens were injured by flying glass, bricks, or clubs. James Holdman, a Black off-duty sheriff's deputy, accidentally shot himself in the hand as he fired warning shots from his car toward the racist mob. His twelve-year-old son suffered a leg injury.

Police arrested twenty-nine whites and three Blacks.

Haig protested the arrest of the Blacks, whose only "crime" was defending themselves or trying to defend others. She called on Major Richard Daley and Gov. Daniel Walker to use "all necessary force against the racist thugs to protect the rights of Black citizens."

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SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Building the revolutionary party. Speaker: Wendy Wisenberg, on Mass work, unifications, and the early communist movement. Mon., June 28, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Cincinnati, Old Chemistry Bldg., Room 532. Donation: All sessions—\$5; single session—75¢. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The character and composition of a revolutionary workers party. Thurs., July 1, 7:30 p.m. Liberia Militante, 221 East

Second St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

DEFEND DOMINICAN TRADE UNIONS. Speakers: Marcelino Vásquez, secretary of POASI in Exile; Dinora Cordero, Dominican Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Dominican Republic; Claudio Tavarez, USLA, coordinator of POASI Defense Committee. Fri., July 2, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MD.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Why Stalinism triumphed. Sun., June 27, 7:30 p.m. Internationalism vs. socialism in one country. Mon. July 5, 7:30 p.m. 4318 Hamilton St. (intersection with Rt. 1 and Alt. Rt. 1), Room 10. Donation: 50¢. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

...cutbacks at CUNY

Continued from back page

reach out to other layers of the population—especially the labor movement and communities of the oppressed minorities—to organize a united movement against the cuts.

Instead, many USS leaders maintained a perspective of searching out "friends" among the Democratic and Republican party politicians who have been the ones directing the blows from the state capitol and city hall.

Pressured by the sentiment among students for action against the cuts, the USS sometime organized demonstrations. But the fundamental perspective of the USS as a whole was lobbying in Albany.

Maynard Jones, chairperson of the USS, and other USS officers encouraged support for a bill to "modify" the cuts so that CUNY would be cut "only" as much as other socially necessary services. These student leaders thus accepted the Democratic and Republican politicians' priorities, that the Pentagon's war budget and interest payments to the banks are more important than social services.

Many representatives from different colleges argued against this perspective. They pointed out that this bill would divide students from their natural allies—other victims of cutbacks. The student movement, they said, should be about the business of demanding no cuts—of anyone or anything.

Need for allies

But there was another big factor that limited the mobilizations: students could not see any other powerful layers of the population coming into motion against cutbacks—any strong allies with which they could unite.

The bureaucratic leadership of the labor movement put on a disgraceful show, capitulating step by step as thousands were laid off, contracts ripped up, social services slashed, and wages frozen.

Their pleas to "cut somewhere else" played right into the politicians' divide-and-rule strategy.

The communities most affected by cutbacks, those of oppressed minorities, were also essentially leaderless. There, Democratic party and Democratic party-linked organizations, poverty programs, community boards, and the like, played the same role as the bureaucracy did in the labor movement.

On a couple of occasions, students initiated attempts to unify the various anticutbacks movements that exist. There have been many protests against slashes in hospitals, child care, fire protection, or welfare. But attempts to organize such a broad, struggle-oriented coalition have not yet gotten off the ground.

Hostos saved

The one cutback that has been successfully resisted—the closing of Hostos Community College—shows by contrast the importance of an alliance between students and broader social forces, and how such an alliance can be forged.

Hostos, one of the smallest of the twenty CUNY units, has the highest

proportion of minority students—98 percent. It is also the only bilingual college in the eastern United States.

During the spring, the scheduled closing of Hostos became a focus of student protests. The school became a symbol of the disproportionate way minority students are being affected by the cuts.

A layer of student activists came to understand both the racist nature of the cutbacks and that it was necessary to single out for special emphasis the defense of those students most under attack—the minority students. This is necessary to counter the politicians' attempt to divide and rule—to win support among white students for cutbacks directed primarily at minority students.

The decision to close Hostos became a major focus of resentment against cutbacks among the Puerto Rican and Hispanic communities throughout New York. This led to the formation of a coalition that included top-ranking Puerto Rican Democrats who adapted to community sentiment.

Although there were no mass mobilizations of the Hispanic communities, student protests against the closing of Hostos and the beginnings of an alliance between the oppressed communities and the students were sufficient to force a reversal of the decision to close Hostos—for the time being.

What's ahead?

The cutbacks of higher education and other social services in New York will not stop—they are just beginning. In many other cities politicians are also trying the ploy of cutting back on working people's social services to "save" the city from default.

The fight to stop future education cutbacks is not only an issue for students, but for all working people, just as all working people suffer from the reductions in public transit, hospitals, and other social services.

It will take a very large mobilization—not only of students, but of unions and the oppressed communities—to reverse the tide of cutbacks and layoffs.

Through their example and methods of struggle, students can give an impetus to the development of such a movement.

However, such mobilizations cannot be organized on the basis of asking Democratic and Republican party politicians to "cut somewhere else."

Such a movement can't be built by relying on Democratic "friends" of labor and the oppressed. Whatever the weaknesses of such an approach in the past, the actual experience in New York over the past year shows this strategy to be suicidal today.

The key to victory against the cutbacks is massive social action that relies on the strength of those victimized, not the purported "good will" of those doing the victimizing.

The students protests over the past year were an important start in building such a movement—but they were not enough. The next logical step is a broad, city-wide meeting of all those suffering from cutbacks and layoffs to plan a united response by working people against the cuts.

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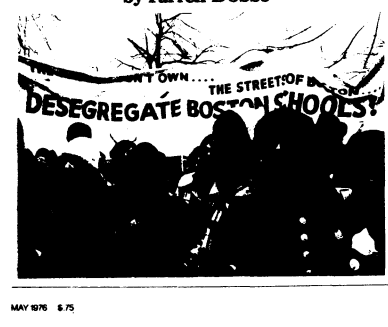
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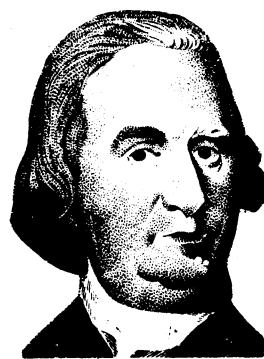
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THE END OF FREE TUITION, OPEN ADMISSIONS AT CUNY Lessons of student fight against cutbacks

By Ike Nahem

NEW YORK—When the City University of New York reopens its doors for the fall semester, it will be quite a different institution.

- Enrollment will be down several tens of thousands from this year's level of 270,000.

- Classes will be larger, many courses will no longer be offered, special programs will be eliminated.

- The proportion of Black, Puerto Rican, and other minority students

Ike Nahem is a member of the local executive committee of the New York City Young Socialist Alliance. Nahem coordinates the anticutbacks activities of the YSA in New York.

will be down drastically, and will continue to diminish as the school year wears on.

In addition, an across-the-board wage freeze has been imposed on faculty and staff. The faculty has also been forced to accept "deferral" of previously negotiated wages totaling \$15 million. Thousands are likely to be laid off when a schedule for campus cutbacks is drawn up this summer.

In all, CUNY will absorb some \$200 million in cuts. At most it will have \$470 million left to function next year.

But the cutbacks at City University were aimed not only at taking money away from education, or eliminating certain numbers of students, teachers, campuses, and future graduates.

The rulers of this city also wanted to crush an important expectation—that people have a right to free higher education.

Open-admissions victory

Free tuition dates back 129 years. Open admissions is a more recent development, a victory of the student struggles and Black movement of the 1960s. Under open admissions, anyone with a high school or equivalency diploma could attend CUNY.

It was won in 1969 through a struggle by Black and Puerto Rican students, who received backing from other students and the communities of the oppressed minorities.

Although limited to New York City, the winning of open admissions was a tremendous victory for the entire student movement. It set an example for the rest of the country.

The decisions to end open admissions and free tuition, and the severity of the cutbacks, represent a stunning blow to all students and all working people in New York City.

Most of all, it is a big setback for the oppressed minorities who had benefited the most from open admissions and free tuition.

The impact of this defeat is forcing many activists who fought to defend free tuition and open admissions to ask some hard questions.

- What has happened and why?
- Why were repeated demonstrations of up to 10,000 students unable to

stop the ruling-class attack?

- What can be done to stop further cutbacks and eventually begin to recoup what has been lost?

Capitalist crisis & attack

It is important to understand the conditions under which the open-admissions policy was won.

It was won at the end of a twenty-five-year period of capitalist economic expansion on a world scale during which the U.S. capitalists made a number of concessions to American working people.

It was also a period when the radicalization that began with the rise of the civil rights movement was expanding and various layers were on the offensive against the government, resulting in concessions in many areas.

The post-World War II boom is now over, and there is increasing competition between the different large capitalist powers. This has led to an offensive by the ruling class of which the attack on higher education is just one part. The bigger picture includes the Nixon wage freeze, the oil crisis, skyrocketing inflation, the depression of 1974-75, and the attack on school desegregation.

What is involved is a drive by the rulers of this country—to boost their profits and improve their competitive position against other capitalists by pushing down the standard of living of U.S. working people.

The financial crisis in New York is part of that attack.

Student resistance to the severe curtailment of education in New York was very significant. Their struggle has been more sustained and encompassed larger mobilizations than any other group victimized by the cuts.

Although the degree of mobilization on each campus varied widely, tens of thousands of students from CUNY protested at one time or another.

On November 19, 1975, 6,000 students demonstrated in Washington, D.C. This action was preceded by several demonstrations of thousands of students in New York.

State University of New York students joined with CUNY for a march and rally of 10,000 in Albany in March. At the beginning of May a student strike against budget cuts closed down City College for two days.

On May 10, 4,000 students shouted "Save Hostos College" as they marched through midtown Manhattan. And up to 10,000 students and faculty ringed city hall June 9 in a protest against the closing of the university system.

Advanced demands

Often students raised the demand "No cutbacks, no layoffs!"—a more advanced demand than simply "Save CUNY" because it raised the perspective of united action by all victims of the cuts.

The idea that money to pay for education, jobs, and social services should come from the bloated Pentagon budget and bankers' interest payments gained acceptance among a

wide layer of students.

This was reflected in a chant frequently heard at demonstrations: "They've got the money, we're no fools, take it from the Pentagon [or: 'take it from the banks'], and give it to the schools."

Because of the sizable protests the rulers of New York were cautious in the way they implemented the cutbacks.

Despite the high level of protests, the student movement against the cuts had many weaknesses. Activity tended to be uneven and uncoordinated from college to college. Protests on one campus often tended to be isolated from other campuses. As the cuts started to come down, this sometimes translated into an every-school-for-itself attitude.

While many actions numbered in the hundreds and sometimes in the thousands the potential power of the student movement as a whole was left untapped. That is, the hundreds-of-thousands-strong CUNY population was never mobilized as one force.

USS weaknesses

A big factor contributing to this problem was the weak leadership provided by the only authoritative city-wide organization representing students, the University Student Senate.

The USS should have been the initiator, unifier, and coordinator of the entire struggle. Its number one priority should have been to mobilize students against cutbacks and to

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Protest cuts in N.Y. health care



250 people chanting "No cuts, no way—the city hospitals are here to stay!" marched from Bryant Park to Gov. Hugh Carey's office in New York City June 13. A rally and picket line followed the noontime march. Workers and community residents from a half dozen city hospitals participated,

including from Gouverneur Hospital in the Lower East Side, which has been threatened with closing. Speakers at the protest included representatives of the hospital workers union, the city-wide community board of the municipal hospitals, and an associate director of Sydenham Hospital.

Militant/Andy F. Corriette